

"This detailed and visually compelling ethnography explores the changing nature of wedding practices in a village in Qinghai Province. Researched and compiled by a promising young scholar, the narrative situates the village of Bon skor in the complex socio-political context of contemporary Amdo, and introduces the reader to all aspects of the matrimonial process. As much about continuity as it is change, negotiation as it is difference, the *Last Dragon Banquet?* embodies all the strengths of autoethnography: linguistically sophisticated, culturally rich, and politically informed. It is a very welcome addition to the *Asian Highlands Perspectives* series."

– **Mark Turin**, PhD, Chair, First Nations Languages Program; Director, Digital Himalaya Project and World Oral Literature Project, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.

"*The Last Dragon Banquet* is a fine example of the kind of straight-forward auto-ethnographic study for which the *Asian Highlands Perspectives* series is noted. Nyangchakja provides the basics of place and community to frame the detailed descriptions of the wedding process in a family from a community in Amdo, Qinghai. Avoiding generalizations, the descriptions are careful to note the melding of traditions with new practices emerging from influences of technology and social currents flowing throughout the Plateau. Multi-dimensional and process-oriented, the text provides a wealth of information that will benefit present and future scholars."

– **Mark Bender**, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, The Ohio State University

This book introduces Bon skor Village's history, population, education, economy, religion, language, housing, death, divination, conflict, and clothing. This is followed by a detailed ethnographic study of village weddings focusing on marriage norms, the spouse selection process, and the spouse trial period. Details are provided on pre-wedding activities, preparation of clothes for the bride, negotiations, abducting the bride, discussion of the bridewealth and dowry, speeches, orations, songs, rituals, the bride's mother's instructions to the bride, and the actual wedding rituals. Summaries of speeches and English translation of songs are also provided.

Nyangchakja, author of the autobiographical *A Mang rzdong Tibetan Life*, earned degrees while studying in China and Malaysia before attending Brandeis University in USA with a Rotary Club Global Grant Scholarship. He also founded, Friendship Charity Association, a grassroots NGO, and Ganglha, a social enterprise sustaining communities and cultures on the Tibetan Plateau.



ASIAN HIGHLANDS PERSPECTIVES

THE LAST DRAGON BANQUET? Nyangchakja

AHP 41

མཐུག་མཐའི་དགེས་སྟོན།

THE LAST DRAGON BANQUET?

Changing Wedding Traditions in an Amdo Tibetan Community



བོན་སྟོན་སྟོང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི།

Nyangchakja

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Highlands
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Tibetan Community

by

བོན་སྟོན་སྡིང་ལྷགས་བྱུལ། Nyangchakja

EDITORIAL ASSISTANCE

CK Stuart
Gerald Roche
Gabriela Samcewicz
Rin chen rdo rje
Timothy Thurston

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SUMMARY: Bon skor is an Amdo, agro-pastoral Tibetan village. This book introduces the village's history, population, education, economy, religion, language, housing, death, divination, conflict, and clothing. This is followed by a detailed ethnographic study of village weddings focusing on marriage norms, the spouse selection process, and the spouse trial period. Details are provided on pre-wedding activities, preparation of clothes for the bride, negotiations, abducting the bride, discussion of the bridewealth and dowry, speeches, orations, songs, rituals, the bride's mother's instructions to the bride, and the actual wedding rituals. Summaries of speeches and English translation of songs are also provided.

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DEDICATION

*To my beloved sister, Dorjee Paljor (Rdo rje dpal 'byor), and to the
bright memory of a departed, much loved childhood companion.*

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¹ Nyangchakja took the photographs featured in this book. Non-English terms in the captions are explained in the relevant sections.

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INTRODUCTION

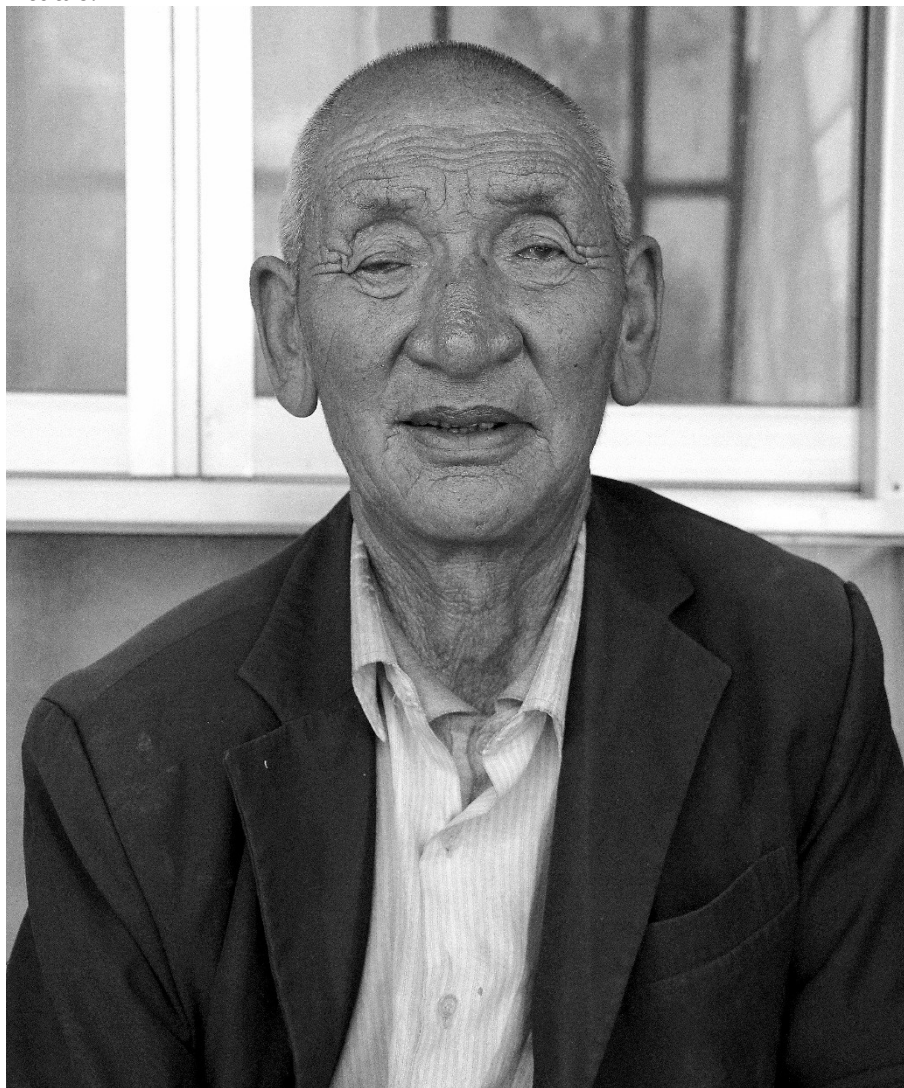
CONSULTANTS²

A kha (b. 1934) is a local elder, a dedicated Buddhist, and a former monk. He described funeral processes.



² Much of the information in this book is based on what my consultants told me. Certain informants' names are fictitious.

A tho (b. 1939), my paternal relative, was an active herdsman in 2016. He provided information on local history, death, tribes, and rituals.



Btsan mgon (b. 1952), my paternal grandmother's brother, often talked to me about the Dpon tshang Tribe³ and its contribution to the local area.



³ This *tsho ba* is known for its number of leaders. The tribe's name translates as 'Leader Family'.

'Brug lha rgyal (b. 1978) is from Ske ba Village and was the headmaster of Bon skor Village Primary School from 2002-2009.



Bun khreng (b. 1950-2011), a local villager, described camels, including names of camel-related items and camel use.



Bya bho (b. 1944) had many traditional ornaments that local women borrowed to wear at weddings and other gatherings.



Chos dbangs (b. 1965), a local villager, chanted and conducted rituals at homes. He described various local rituals that he conducts.



Dpa' bzang (b. 1939-2015) was my maternal relative who became a monk when he was about forty-five. He described various local religious rituals.



Dpa' kho (b. 1942) is one of the earliest village leaders appointed by the Communist Party. He described the village economy, farming, herding, government policies, and history.



Gnam byams 'bum (b. 1967) was the village leader in 2014, a position he had occupied since 2003. He provided general information on the local economy, education, history, and policies.



'Jam dbyangs skyabs (b. 1982) is my paternal grandmother's relative. He never attended school and does not have a very good singing voice. Nevertheless, he learned Tibetan by himself and knows many folksongs. While herding, he learned many humorous songs, some of which I recorded for a half day.



Khe bhe (b. 1972), a paternal relative, married at the age of seventeen. He sporadically attended primary school at the former village farming location in Bon po'i zhing kha and sings traditional songs. He is well known for his melodious voice, mandolin playing, folksong repertoire, and sash-tying speech.



Lha sgron (b. 1946) is my paternal grandmother and a devoted Buddhist. She became a nun in 2012. Grandmother sang traditional songs and gave examples of speeches and instructions given to the bride before she leaves her parents' home for the groom's home.



Lha rgya (b. 1957) of Ra dza Village was the first headmaster of Bon skor Village Primary School from 1987-1994.



Mkhas bha (b. 1936) is a paternal relative. He described felt making.



Rgya mtsho (b. 1938) is a local elder. He contributed information on the economy, and the school and school attendance.



Gsang sgrog (b. 1945), my paternal grandfather, was born in Bon skor Village and is familiar with village history. Locally well known for his eloquent speeches, he is often invited as a matchmaker and wedding orator.



Stag lha (b. 1973) is a Bon tantric practitioner from Bon skor Village and the caretaker of the local Bon Assembly Hall.



Thar re rgyal (b. 1958) was the local Communist Party secretary in 2014, a position he had occupied since 2000. He provided general information on the local economy, education, and government policies.



Thin tsi (b. 1940) was the local village leader between 1986 and 1995 and the local Communist Party secretary between 1995 and 2000.



Thub bstan lhun grub (b. 1944), a local tantric practitioner originally from Sgo me Village, married a woman in Bon skor and moved into her home.



Tshogs phud (b. 1928), a local elder, spent much of his time on chanting and practicing religious rituals. He provided information about local rituals.



Tshul khrims (b. 1941), a local elder whose original name was Rdo rje thar, became a monk at the age of seven. He was then given a new name - Tshul khrims. Forced out of the monastery in 1958, he later studied at Mtsho lho Normal High School in Chab cha for one year. From 1965-1971, he was part of the Lanzhou Military Command and was sent to Yul shul (Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. While in the military, he was known as Caizhamu. In 1971, he began receiving a stipend for his military service. In 2014, he received 2,060 RMB per year from the local County Finance Bureau. The local village appointed him to be the local Yul lha⁴ Temple caretaker in 2003, a duty he continued to carry out in 2016. Tshul khrims provided information on Yul lha and various rituals.



⁴ *Yul* = 'place' 'designated place'; *lha* = 'deity'. A *yul lha* is understood to be male. Local laymen pray to and worship him, beseeching help in matters related to herding, farming, traveling, and wealth (Karmay 2010:250).

'Brug thar rgyal (b. 1987) is from Bon skor Village and attended the local primary school. His uncle ordered him to marry and move into his bride's home when he was ten years old, because he had no father to support him. A keen interest in local culture led him to collect many local folksongs that were later published ('Brug thar rgyal 2008).

Bod pu de (b. 1933), a local elder, married, divorced, and is now single. He provided accounts of his divorce and described the suicide of a former wife.

Don grub (b. 1981) divorced a local woman less than a year after their marriage. He then married another local woman. They divorced about two years later.

G.yang byams skyid (b. 1995) never attended school. She married in February 2013 and then herded sheep at her natal home. Though her parents did not fully approve, she and her boyfriend were in love and married.

Lha mtsho (b. 1946) is a local woman who married at the age of eighteen and never attended school. She is well known locally as a gifted singer and orator. She provided orations and told me lyrics, which I transcribed.

Pad ma skyid (b. 1982), a local woman, graduated from middle school and then married a teacher. She eloped with an unemployed man and did not have a job at the time this book was written.

BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

This study examines weddings in Bon skor Village, Bya mdo⁵ (Shagou) Township, Mang ra⁶ (Guinan) County, Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, China. I begin by introducing my consultants who provided much of the information I used. An overall introduction to village history, religion, education, economy, death, housing, language, clothing, and conflicts is given to provide a general context. Five selected wedding accounts are provided. The body of the book describes marriage norms, spouse selection process, spouse trial period, and divination for spouse selection.

Pre-wedding activities are detailed, including the groom's side preparing clothes for the bride, choosing matchmakers, negotiation, abducting the bride, discussion of bridewealth and dowry, clothing requirement, rituals, rumors, the mother's instruction to the bride, speeches, songs, and rituals.

The wedding ceremony includes speeches, recitations, orations, and songs. Examples of competitive songs during the wedding are provided. Summaries of speeches and English translation for songs are provided throughout the book. Childbearing and divorce are also described.

I particularly focus on local elders' experiences and narratives, songs, orations, negotiation between the bride and groom's families, the bride's clothing and ornaments, bride abduction, bridewealth and dowries, and preparation for the wedding at the homes of both the bride and groom. Inherent in this presentation is the notion of a 'normal' wedding that, in actuality, never really exists, as Thurston and Tsering Samdrup (2012) note in the context of their description

⁵ *Bya* = literally 'bird'; *mdo* = lower part of a valley or intersection. Bya mdo was historically referred to as one of the three abbreviated names of Mang 'ba' bya gsum. Shortened forms include Mang ra, 'Ba' rdzong, and Bya mdo, which are often used by local elders and in texts. Bya mdo is derived from Bya drug gzhung or Bya drug gzhongs 'Six Bird Valley', which consists of six hills that are named after six different birds: *khyā chen* 'crested goshawk', *glag* 'eagle', *go'u mo* 'snowcock', *rgod* 'vulture', *khyung* 'garuda', and *khra* 'hawk'. The lower part of this valley is Bya mdo (Tshe lo 2010:497).

⁶ Mang ra County/ Mang rdzong was established in 1953. Ye shes bzang po (2001:5), Mkha' 'gro skyabs (2009:12), and LA mo'i yongs 'dzin blo bzang mkhas grub rgya mtsho (1993) write that Mang ra was named after a scholar, Mang ra ba seng ge rgyal mtshan, from Dbus gtsang in the early twelfth century.

of Tibetan New Year observances in Stong skor Village that neighbors Bon skor Village:

First, studies of Tibetan weddings often attempt to recreate, or tell the story of a typical wedding, but it was difficult to find a 'typical' example in Stong skor Village. During this New Year's period, three weddings were held in Bon families, while two were within the Buddhist U Sin Clan. Two weddings featured a *mag pa* 'groom' marrying matrilocally while one wedding featured a horse race sponsored for villagers by the groom's family. Other weddings had no horse race. All the weddings were arranged marriages.

I describe the sequence of wedding events for an "ideal" wedding in chronological order, i.e., from the time young people find romantic partners, or are assigned a spouse by parents, to the end of the wedding ritual. Oral recitations (speeches, orations, songs) and detailed accounts of marriages by locals, often in a historical context, provide further insight into local realities. Of particular value is the detail provided for a particular oral recitation given at a certain time and location during the matchmaking and wedding processes. For all oral recitations, I also provide information as to the consultant (interviewee) who provided the information.

I began this study in January 2008, soon after finishing a two-year Associate Degree in the English Training Program (ETP), at the Chab cha (Qiabuqia) Campus of the Nationalities Teacher's College of Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Normal University. I had earlier completed a book about my childhood that, while providing an opportunity to improve my English, described local life and offered an example of what others might do with their lived experiences and the life of their respective villages (Nyangchakja 2011).

As my English improved, I noticed some of Dr. Stuart's students researching and writing about marriage, the Tibetan New Year, and other locally important cultural events. As I started researching marriage in my own village and reading published accounts of Tibetan weddings, I realized that marriage customs in my local village have special features and, sadly, that this unique culture was rapidly disappearing, a process that is only accelerating in 2016. I further realized that I could document local marriage practices as had others. In this context, this study is significant in recording examples of local marriage songs, *gtam dpe* 'proverbs', *bshad pa* 'speeches', rituals, and narratives.

During the processes of collecting data from locals, some elders were uncooperative, saying:

"You are so young! What will you do with such information?"

"Students don't need to know such thing. Learn something in

school."

"Study hard at school. Such things as traditional speeches and songs are worthless for students."

Nevertheless, I encouraged elders to describe the wedding process, to sing, and give wedding speeches. I gave them such gifts as bottles of liquor while explaining the significance of local traditional wedding custom. This was persuasive in certain cases. Some singers were reluctant to sing into a microphone. It sometimes took several days to convince them to do so. Elders often withheld speeches and proverbs thinking I would 'steal' them in order to improve my own reputation. I got the best information from relatives and family members who trusted me.

At first, I ambitiously thought that I could easily translate the proverbs and songs into English, but this soon proved challenging, requiring additional consultation and interpretation from elders.

An excellent future research project would be to study a specific marriage, detailing how the couple met, or how and why their relatives arranged for them to marry, that involved pre-wedding negotiation, and the actual details of rituals and oral recitations at the homes of both the groom and bride. Selection of spouses, matchmaking, and wedding rituals are fluid, consequently, documenting specific weddings at a certain point in time has great value.

Certain oral recitations featured in this work are available on-line in video and audio format. I have noted the relevant links in the text.

Finally, the Tibetan language materials are written as closely to the colloquial, as-delivered form as possible. However, there were times when I was puzzled as to how to render colloquial terms. Literary spelling and colloquial grammar/ speech styles are not necessarily mutually exclusive, therefore, I resorted to accepted literary terms in order to more effectively communicate with more people who can read Tibetan. I estimate that five to ten percent of the language presented here has been so altered. Some younger consultants learned their speeches and songs from VCDs/ DVDs, television, and books, as well as from elders consequently, the younger consultants utilize oral forms that tend to be more literary than the forms they have learned from elders.

TERMS

Tsho ba is often translated as 'tribe'.⁷ In the Bon skor⁸ (Wangshike)⁹ context, *tsho ba* is a group of people who have had a kinship relationship, either matrilineally or patrilineally, over the past four to five generations. Some *tsho ba* in Bon skor have fifteen families/households and some have seventy to eighty.

Bon skor originally had three *tsho ba* - Bon po, A rig, and Thar shul. In 2016, there were about twenty. The Bon po *tsho ba* founded Bon skor Village. Its lineage traces mostly to Dpon tshang tsho ba 'Leader's Tribe'. It was the largest community *tsho ba* in 2016.

During early times, there may have been intermarriage between the three *tsho ba*. Over time, people from outside these three *tsho ba* married local *tsho ba* members, resided in the village, and families grew larger and branched into different *tsho ba*. Although the paternal or maternal side of the extended *tsho ba* was related to the original three *tsho ba*, they came to be considered new *tsho ba*.

Tsho ba formation occurs in various ways. Snying dkar (b. ~1700), for example, was originally from the Bon po *tsho ba* and the leader of Bon skor Village. He was known as Bon po Snying dkar and sometimes as Dpon po 'Leader'. When he was about fifteen, his father arranged for him to marry a girl from one of the other two *tsho ba* in Bon skor. In time, Snying dkar had several sons and daughters. Eventually, some married into other villages and others married into the local village. When Snying dkar became very old, he was much respected for his good leadership. People referred to his children and relatives as the people of Dpon tshang 'Leader's Family', and sometimes Snying dkar 'Kind Heart' and 'White Chest Hair'. The latter suggests he had white hair on the right side of his chest above the heart. After Snying dkar died, locals referred to his descendants interchangeably as the people of Dpon tshang and Snying dkar. In time, both of these names became the name of one *tsho ba*.

A *tsho ba*'s name may also be traced to a man's nickname and background. For example, in the mid-nineteenth century, a farmer came to Bon skor to herd for a family and later married a woman from one of the local *tsho ba*. The bride's father gave them a tent and some livestock. They lived separately, but near the bride's parents' home. They later moved to the next valley to have better pasture for their growing number of livestock. They also cultivated barley and wheat. They had several children and became very independent. After their children matured, some married into other villages and some married into the local village. The father of this family was referred to

⁷ Tuttle (2013) uses 'division'.

⁸ Bon = Bon religion; *skor* = encampment, groups.

⁹ Chinese is given in parentheses where appropriate.

as Zhing ba 'Farmer' and, when he became very old, his family was known as Zhing ba. Other villagers occasionally referred to their children's families as Zhing ba. After the father died, locals referred to his descendants as Zhing ba, which became a *tsho ba*. Today, Zhing ba is the name of a *tsho ba* that was matrilineally related to one of the three original *tsho ba* in Bon skor.

Another example dates to the early nineteenth century. A man from the Bon po *tsho ba* was well respected for his good deeds and was known as A zla, an honorific in the local dialect meaning 'Uncle' or 'Elder'. His real name was forgotten. In time, his relatives were referred to as A zla's children or relatives. A zla was well known and his relatives were immediately recognized when they mentioned their connection to A zla. Later, A zla's relatives and descendants were collectively called as A zla in the sense of a *tsho ba*.

A *tsho ba*'s name may also derive from a person's appearance and identity. For example, in the late nineteenth century, a farmer from outside Bon skor married a local woman. This farmer had white hair, though he was a young man and was known as Mgo dkar 'White Head' in a teasing way. Gradually, he was referred to as Mgo dkar, which became a name for his children's families and relatives, and the name of a *tsho ba*.

For the sake of simplicity, I have reluctantly chosen to use the term 'village' (Chinese = *cun*; Tibetan = *sde ba*) to refer to Bon skor. 'Village' does not accurately frame the Bon skor area and administrative jurisdiction that includes a settled, farming area, deserts, and vast herding lands.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Marriage in Tibetan regions is generally monogamous, though certain areas practice polyandry (Rgyang 'khor tshe phun 2009:80). Polyandry is practiced especially in western Central Tibet (Tenzin 2008), and has attracted the attention of Western scholars (Aziz 1978, Fjeld 2007, Goldstein 1971, Levine 1988, and Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark 1963). Benjiao (2001), who was trained in the USA, has also studied polyandry.

This study focuses on monogamous marriage specifically in Bon skor Tibetan Village, where polyandry is not practiced. There are few publications in Tibetan, Chinese, and English about Tibetan marriage in east-central Mtsho sngon Province that focus on the ritual at the village level. Similarly, no studies have been done previously on the structure, process, songs, recitations, speech, proverbs, and food in the context of marriage in Bon skor Tibetan Village.

A few studies in English about Tibetan weddings deserve particular mention. Studies by Blo brtan rdo rje and Stuart (2007) and Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. (2010) describe weddings in their home places in Mtsho sngon – Skya rgya and Ne'u na villages respectively. Both provide considerable detail about oral recitations, processes, food, and other aspects of marriage and weddings. 'Brug mo skyid (2010), G.yu lha (2012), Bkra shis bzang po (2012), and Lcags byams tshe ring (2012) also provide details of original local accounts, speeches, songs, and proverbs from Tibetan villages in Mtsho sngon, Sichuan, and Gansu provinces. These focused studies provide valuable insight into marriage in the context of rural Tibetan life.

In contrast, there is a large corpus of materials dealing with the same topic in Tibetan and Chinese languages. Unfortunately, these studies are generalized, mixing details and general statements based on what may or may not take place at Tibetan marriages in many villages, ignoring the details of wedding rituals that may vary significantly from one village to another. Furthermore, processes, speeches, and customs as expressed in wedding ceremonies show many differences between pastoral and agricultural villages within one county or even township.

Various Tibetan handwritten wedding orations from across A mdo¹⁰ have been presented by Bka' ma mkha' 'bum and Tshe rgyal (2012), who collected examples from Rkang tsha (Gangca) County, Mtsho byang (Haibei) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture; Gcan tsha

¹⁰ One of three Tibetan regions that encompasses much of Mtsho sngon and Gansu provinces.

(Jianzha) County, Rma lho (Huangnan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture; and Gro tshang (Ledu) County, Mtsho shar (Haidong) District. Rta lo thar (2012:124) collected wedding orations from farming villages of Mang ra County. Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. (2010:110) provide wedding orations from Ne'u na Village, Khri ka County. Zon thar 'bum and Yan tson khrims (2010:12-108) collected wedding orations from about fifteen counties in Mtsho sngon Province. Bskal bzang blo gsal (2005) collected orations across Kan lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. However, with the exception of Tshe dbang rdo rje et al. (2010:110), none of the above collections provide dates, specific locations, nor information related to audio recordings and orators.

PART ONE

THE CONTEXT

VILLAGE LOCATION

Bon skor is an agro-pastoral village in Bya mdo Township, Mang ra County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province. Bya mdo Township¹¹ has fourteen Tibetan villages¹² and one Han village.¹³ The Bon skor Village farming area is situated at a latitude of 35°53'10.71"N and a longitude of 100°51'49.42"E. It is approximately eight kilometers north of Bya mdo Township Town and 112 kilometers south of Mang ra County Town, in southeastern Mtsho lho. The prefecture capital is 160 kilometers away and Zi ling (Xining) City, the capital of Mtsho sngon, is 202 kilometers away.

Bon skor Village consists of a farming section and a herding section. The former is located in a flat-bottomed valley, bordering Chos tsha Village in the southeast; Tsha rnga¹⁴ Village in the east; Go ra'i mdo, Sde mang, Ra rdza, Gur lhas, Grog ra, Dgon thang, Gdong ring, and Rdo ra villages to the northeast; and Stong skor Village to the south. The Yellow River is northwest of Bon skor Village.

Bon skor Village cultivates 7,900 *mu*¹⁵ of non-irrigated farmland and 1,860 *mu* of irrigated farmland. To the southwest and north are 415,000 *mu* of pastureland.¹⁶ In addition, there are 2,500 *mu* of forest. Desert and eroded areas are excluded from the total land area.

Part of the local village farming area has been eroded by flooding. A construction project was implemented by the local government to reduce erosion and flood, but the construction site was flooded in July 2001. In early 2015, the government provided 37.29 million RMB to construct a new concrete flood water canal to limit erosion. A large part of the herding area is increasingly encroached on by an expanding desert. Main factors for increased

¹¹ According to the Guinan Compilation Committee (1996:45), Bya mdo Township was first established as a *gongshe* 'commune' in 1958, administering Bon skor and Rab 'og villages. It became a *xiang* 'township' in 1965.

¹² The Tibetan villages are Ba lang gad pa, Bser thang, Bon skor, Dgon thang, Go ra'i mdo, Gur lhas, Glegs shing, Grog ra, Gdong ring, Ra rdza, Sdong gzhangs, Sde mang, Sprel nag, and She'u nyal. Han families live in some of these villages.

¹³ The Han village is Tsha rnga (Chana). About ten Tibetan families reside in this village and speak Tibetan and the Mtsho sngon Chinese dialect.

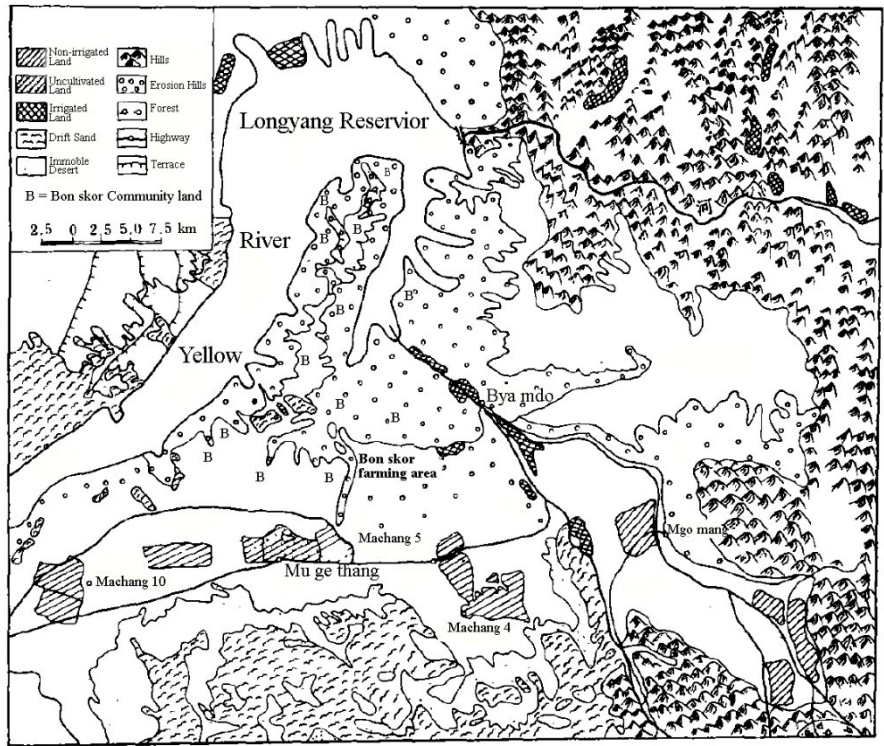
¹⁴ 'Tshal rnga' is an alternative spelling.

¹⁵ One *mu* = 0.067 hectares.

¹⁶ These pastures include Mu ge thang, ShAng shur, Rgya nur, Khun 'dus, 'Gyam ring, Ha ra, Mo mgo tho log, Gru bzhi, Bzhugs khri, Thur rgan, Ha bzhug ske, Er rgod, 'Ur khyog, and Mo hor.

desertification include climate factors (high wind velocity and an increase in annual temperature, combined with low precipitation and high evaporation) as well as unsustainable human activities and inappropriate policy measures (Yan et al. 2009:112).

MAP 1. Bon skor Village¹⁷



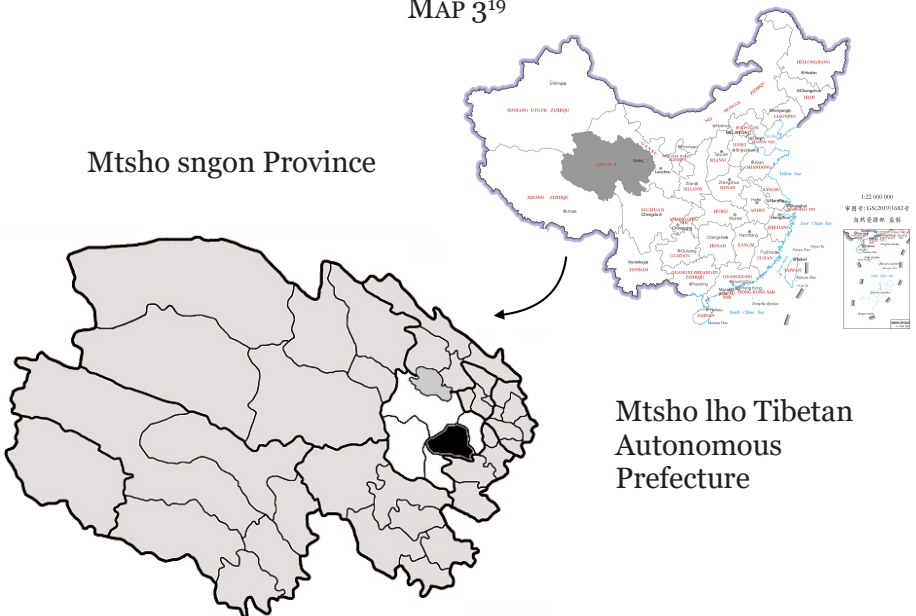
¹⁷ Locations of Bon skor Village, desert, and Yellow River (Jin et al. 1989). Changes were made to the original map in naming. Bon skor area is indicated by 'B'.

MAP 2



1 = Chab cha (Gonghe) County; 2 = 'Ba' rdzong (Tongde) County; 3 = Khri kha (Guide) County; 4 = Brag dkar (Xinghai) County; 5 = Mang ra (Guinan) County.¹⁸

MAP 3¹⁹



¹⁸ <https://bit.ly/2sFAJDO>, accessed 28 August 2014.

¹⁹ Map of China accessed 18 January 2020 at <https://bit.ly/38gvpWw>; map of Qinghai accessed 9 June 2015 at <https://bit.ly/366Feoi>. Four counties neighboring Mang ra County are in white. Black shading indicates Mang ra County.

POPULATION

In 2011, Mang ra County's population was 77,230 of which about seventeen percent were Han (Yang 2012:2). In 2016, Bon skor Village had the largest population with 2,135 residents (508 households) of the fifteen villages in Bya mdo Township. In 2000, locals owned 57,000 head of livestock, which were mainly sheep, goats, and cattle.

According to Gsang sgrog, some families each owned 400-500 sheep and goats prior to 1958. Locals herded all the sheep and goats together on communal land. There were few conflicts between families. A policy implemented in 2000 (Dong et al. 2010:46) led to the grassland being divided among households based on the number of family members and livestock. Many families struggled to survive because the grassland allocated per family was too limited to generate adequate income. Locals then needed more livestock as basic living expenses continued to increase. Many families sold livestock due to a shortage of grass, rented or sold their pastureland to other families, and eventually moved to the local farming area. Others moved to local towns. Some locals believe that living in towns conveys high social status, while others denigrate them as their children lose fluency in Tibetan, are deeply influenced by Han language and culture, and know little about their own culture.

Grassland division directly contributed to the number of herding households decreasing by about fifty percent in 2016 compared to the year 2000. However, the number of livestock increased because herding households bought more livestock and leased grassland from other villages. In 2014, in order to protect the grassland, the government annually provided 10.38 RMB per *mu* of grassland to local herders. Four people in Bon skor Village each received 8,000 RMB a year to look after the grassland and control the number of livestock. In 2013, the local government provided new metal fences and posts valued at about 3.7 million RMB in the Bon skor herding area. Similar projects were implemented in neighboring herding villages. This project also aimed to protect 50,000 *mu* of fenced grassland, where the local government forbids livestock to graze. However, locals occasionally herded inside fenced pastures. The four locals hired to look after the grassland were unconcerned and reported to the local government the numbers of local livestock and grassland status expected by local officials, despite the significant increase in the actual number of local livestock.

Photo 24. Desert grows in Mu ge thang, part of a Bon skor herding area.



Photo 25. Local pasture divided among local families and fenced.



Photo 26. Two households are sandwiched between deserts in the village herding area. Locals say there was no such desert in this area in about 1990.



Photo 27. Desert and the Yellow River in the local herding area.



Photo 28. Soil erosion adjacent to the farming area. Flooding erodes an area of about eighty meters wide and two to fifteen meters deep annually.



CAMELS

In 2015, Bon skor was the only local village in Mang ra County that had camels. Locals were reluctant to sell them because they were considered important and special.²⁰ A few locals sold their camels to local Hui 'Chinese Muslims' in nearby towns. Sometimes, buyers came to local villages to buy camels. Locals historically transported materials with camels, which can carry four or five times more than a horse. Most camels had two humps. As recently as the 1940s, some locals used camels for transporting materials to and from Lha sa.

Camels eat salt, grass, bushes, and willow tree bark and branches. Consultants said the camel's gestation period is a year. A camel lives around thirty years. Locals historically used camel hair to stuff quilts and some sold the hair to Muslims and Han. Camel mane hair and leather were used to make ropes. Locals milked camels to make milk tea and did not kill them. An exception was in the early 1960s during a time of famine.

Bun khreng (1950-2011) said some camel equipment had Mongolian names:

- saddle = *cu su*
- carpet under saddle = *khu lu su*

²⁰ Locals consider camels special because they can carry over 250 kilograms and can go without food and water for many days. Gsang sgrog said that a camel represents the twelve animals of a year because its neck resembles that of a dragon, eyes those of a bird, nostrils those of a mouse, mouth that of a rabbit, tail that of a pig, hips those of an ox, nose that of a horse, the part of its head from the chin to the forehead resembles a sheep's, its teeth resembles a tiger's, its face that of a monkey, feet those of a dog, and its body resembles a snake's. Other locals provide variations, e.g., some say the camel's neck resembles a snake.

- two two-meter long sticks placed on the sides of a camel's humps = *sha tho*
- hoof = *tha 'og*
- hump = *nog*
- carpet between the humps = *'e bug*
- nostrils = *ha mar*
- head = *cog ldan*

Some Mongolian commands were used:

- to sit = *tshugs*
- to get up/ go = *he gu kyo*
- to catch the camel = *ke su*

There were 200-300 camels before 1958 and twenty to thirty camels on village pastures in 1994. However, there were only five camels (four females and one old male) in Bon skor Village in 2012. The male camel died in 2013. The camel number declined because of infrequent breeding caused by fencing that isolated the camels.

Photo 29. Camels can carry more than yaks, donkeys, and horses, and were historically used to transport daily use household items.



Photo 30. Camels kept in herding areas and used to transport items in the mountains.



Photo 31. A couple from the Bon skor herding area prepares to use this camel to fetch water. Locals use old inner tubes as water containers, which can easily be put on a camel's back. Donkeys are also used for this purpose.



Photo 32. Two local women with their camels in 2010.



HISTORY

Lha sgron and Gsang sgrog were both present when telling this narrative.²¹ While one person was doing most of the talking, the other supplemented the narrative when they felt something was missing.

About 700 years ago, a woman from Sgrom Village in Khri ka²² married a man in Tsha nag Village²³ and later had seven sons. The youngest was called Bon po rtse bo. His parents sent him to Stong che Village,²⁴ where he learned *Spyi 'dul* and *Dbal gsas*,²⁵ two Bon recitations practitioners chant in local homes.

In time he fell in love with the wife of a man of the Dpon tshang Tribe in Smad pa'i gshung pa Village.²⁶ Bon po rtse bo and this woman fled to Blue Lake²⁷ where the area was controlled by Bang A ma, a Mongol king. This area had the Sog po mda' tshan bdun, or Seven Groups of Mongolians and Seven Kings. Bon skor Village was part of this area.

Two of King Bang A ma's sons died when they reached the age of three. Another of his sons was ill. When the king asked a fortuneteller for advice, the fortuneteller said, "There are probably two people from the east near us. One is probably an exorcist. You should try to meet these two people as soon as possible; otherwise, no one can solve this problem."

The king ordered his ministers to look for two such people. A day later, Bon po rtse bo and his wife were in the area controlled by the king. The ministers saw Bon po rtse bo, realized he was an exorcist from the red cloth wrapped around his head, and then reported what they had seen to the king.

The king told the ministers to find out where Bon po rtse bo

²¹ An abridged version of Nyangchakja (2011:5-10).

²² Khri ka County is located in Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Sgrom villagers contend that they were originally from the 'Brom Lineage from Dbus gtsang more than a thousand years ago, and were sent to Khri ka as soldiers (Khri skal bzang brtson 'grus 2012:35).

²³ Tsha nag (Chanahai) Village is located in Mgo mang (Guomaying) Township, Mang ra County, about fifty kilometers northeast of Bon skor Village.

²⁴ This village in Khri ka County had many Bon followers in 2016.

²⁵ Gsang sgrog told me that the equivalent Buddhist mantras are *Rta mgrin* and *Seng gdong*, which are also names of deities. *Dbal gsas* refers to *Dbal gsas rngam pa*, an alternative name for *Che mchog he ru ka*.

²⁶ In Khri ka County.

²⁷ Mtsho sngon po, Koknor, Kokonor, Qinghai Lake.

was from. Bon po rtse bo and his wife, when questioned, said they were from the east. The ministers pressed them for further details and asked Bon po rtse bo what religious knowledge he had.

He replied that he knew nothing.

The ministers thought that he knew something and encouraged him to tell more. They said that the king's son was ill, and asked him if he could cure him.

Bon po rtse bo said that he only knew *Spyi 'dul* and *Dbal gsas*.

The ministers did not know what these were. When they reported to the king, he explained *Spyi 'dul* and *Dbal gsas* were religious recitations and told the ministers to bring the couple to his home.

The ministers returned to Bon po rtse bo and his wife and told them that they had to go to the king's place.

Bon po rtse bo answered that he knew nothing and could not solve the problem. As the king had ordered the ministers to bring Bon po rtse bo to his home they encouraged him to go. However, he didn't go. Instead, he gave three beads from his string of sandalwood prayer beads to the ministers and told them to put them in water, boil the water, and have the son drink it. If the fever abated a little at midnight they should return the next day and then he would go. Otherwise, he would not.

The son's fever broke at midnight. Early the next morning, the king himself came to see Bon po rtse bo and his wife and invited them to his home. They then went to the king's home, where Bon po rtse bo chanted the two mantras for seven days. The son recovered.

In appreciation for saving his son's life, the king asked Bon po rtse bo what he needed and offered him half of his land and power. Bon po rtse bo answered that he only needed a place to plant barley. The king told him he would give him the best land available.

Bon po rtse bo went looking for good land and went first to Stong skor (Huangyuan),²⁸ where he predicted that many Han Chinese would come and integrate with locals. He stayed in Ba yan thang,²⁹ unhappily thinking about what he had predicted. He then selected another place called Rgod ma'i thang,³⁰ which is now submerged in Tshal rnga Reservoir.³¹

²⁸ Stong skor County was a subdivision of Zi ling City in 2016. The county town is about forty kilometers from the center of Zi ling City.

²⁹ Ba yan thang is in Dpal kha Township, Brag dkar (Xinghai) County, Mtsho lho Prefecture.

³⁰ Rgod ma'i thang = 'mare's place'. It is located near Tsha rnga, sixty-five kilometers from Chab cha County Town, Mtso lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and 147 kilometers from Zi ling City.

³¹ Locals call it Tsha rnga and Lung yangs 'Spacious Valley' Reservoir. The Chinese 'Longyang Xia', literally means 'Longyang Gorge', and derives from

To confirm Bon po rtse bo's ownership of the land, the king cut a piece of wood into two pieces, colored them at the cut edges, and gave one to Bon po rtse bo as proof.

Bon po rtse bo planted barley there and, for several years, stayed with the woman he had eloped with. He then told the king that he wanted to move. The king agreed, so Bon po rtse bo chose a place called Bon po'i zhing kha, Bon skor's former location, which is now submerged under the dammed water of the Yellow River.

Photo 33. The Yellow River near the Bon skor herding area.



Photo 34. Chinese fishermen seen from the local herding area.



the Tibetan *lung yangs*. In 1985, in order to balance water distribution within the watershed and generate electric power, Longyangxia Reservoir was completed along the Yellow River's main channel (Xu and Cheng 2002:365). Construction began in February 1976. The sluice gate was completed in 1986 and local villages were resettled in 1986 (Guinan Compilation Committee 1996). Another source states that the first hydropower generator was installed in September 1987. The project was completed in 1989 (http://www.gov.cn/lssdj/content_401968.htm, accessed 21 February 2015).

Photo 35. Locals drive sheep to the Yellow River for water.



Photo 36. The Yellow River near the local herding area.



Photo 37. The Yellow River near the local herding area.



Later, Bon po rtse bo had three sons and two neighbors. The two neighbors belonged to the Thar shul and A rig tribes. These two tribes were given to Bon po rtse bo by the Mongol king. As the members in each family increased, Bon po rtse bo's family was called the Bon po Tribe.

One day, Bon po rtse bo went to locate a site to build a *lab rtse*.³² He put a coin underground on top of a hill that had two smaller, nearby hills. Later, he told his two sons to choose a place to build a *lab rtse* without mentioning the location he had chosen. The two sons chose the two small hills near the taller hill, and then the three went together to choose again. Bon po rtse bo said, "If we select the small hill behind the taller one, our place will be controlled by others in the future. If we choose the small hill in front of the taller one, our future generations won't be prosperous."

The tallest hill – the one he had already chosen – was the best place to build a *lab rtse* because it would ensure a wealthy, secure future for locals. They then built the *lab rtse* overlooking the local village and facing Glang chen Mountain in the distance. The mountain, Khyung gzar sgang, in front of the *lab rtse* was located across a valley. Bon po rtse bo foretold that the local village would not have incarnation *bla ma*,³³ since Mount De'u mgo gser zhwa, which was near the *lab rtse*, resembled a *bla ma* removing his hat. However,

³² *lab rtse* 'mountain deity altar' 'cairn', I give a description that I provided earlier (Nyangchakja 2011:8) with some editing:

Locals consider *lab rtse* to be a sacred place of worship. *Lab rtse* are located on mountain peaks, at the mid-part of mountains, and at the feet of mountains. *Rmu thag* (rope made from white sheep wool that joins humans and Heaven and protects local villagers' livestock) and *kha btags* (auspicious silk scarves strip of silk embodying purity and good fortune given to guests, religious personages, and others to show respect) are placed on the site. Very large, handmade wood arrows with fletching are placed in the center of the *lab rtse*. In addition, gold and silver-colored spears, knives, *ho dung* (wooden sticks that are considered to be auspicious and put on *lab rtse* to construct the *lab rtse*), gems, grain (barley, rice, and beans), and sutra streamers are placed on the site. *Lab rtse* are believed to maintain a village and tribe's security and prosperity and are visited on the eleventh day of the fourth lunar month (construction date) and on the nineteenth day of the seventh lunar month (completion date of construction) for relatively large scale rituals. A sheep was sacrificed on the *lab rtse* construction day, which became a tradition each time locals held the ritual annually on the nineteenth day of the fourth lunar month. In 2016, the sacrifice of a sheep was no longer made.

³³ *Bla ma* = teacher, master.

'Jam dbyangs 'phrin las rgya mtsho was recognized as the third reincarnation *bla ma* of Yu gur ³⁴ in Bon skor Village on 25 August 2011.

Photo 38. Locals celebrate at Sgro ri lab rtse in 2014.



³⁴ Yi sgar and Yil ger are alternative spellings.

Photo 39. Bon skor Village *lab rtse* – Sgro ri rab brtan thogs med.



Photo 40. *Ho dung* are wooden sticks that are considered auspicious and put on *lab rtse*.



Photo 41. Arrows on the local *lab rtse*.



Photo 42. Bla ma Yu gur 'Jam dbyangs 'phrin las rgya mtsho.



There might have been seven families there at that time since seven white clay pots were later found inside the *lab rtse*, where rituals are held twice annually. Most Bon skor residents believe that they are the descendants of Bon po rtse bo.

The Thar shul, A rig, and Bon po tribes were the largest and most important Bon skor tribes. Snying dkar of the Bon po Tribe was appointed as the local leader by Bon po rtse bo. Later, his name became a tribe's name and all the leaders were appointed from his descendants. Families of these descendants are called *dpon tshang*. Over time, outsiders came and the number of extended families and population increased from the three original tribes. Today the village has a total of about twenty tribes.³⁵

³⁵ Bon po, A rig, Thar shul, Snying dkar, Sma ra, Gur, Gur rgan gur gzhis, Gur che, Nyag ka, A zla, Shing skor, A khu, Bu bsdu, Zhing ba, Rgya phyug, Ra kho, Mgo dkar, Skya shing, and Sdong ra.

Before 1958, locals invited *bon gshen*³⁶ and *Bon po'i dpon* every year from Stong che bon mang in Khri ka to chant.³⁷ At that time, a village leader, Dpon po rgya ldang, established good relations between Bon skor and Stong che. There was also a Bon specialist group in the local village. After 1958, the yearly chanting ended and the number of specialists in the local village dramatically decreased. In 2016, about ten Bon specialists chanted and performed traditional rituals.

The Mongol king, Bang A ma, was from one of the seven Mongol groups at Blue Lake. He brought many Mongols to Bon Skor. All these groups left after staying for about seven years. None married local people. Why they left is unknown. Evidence of a Mongol presence is obvious from the Mongol names given to local hills, valleys and landscape features, names such as Khu khu cim, Ha ra, ShAng shur, Har ha nag thes, Thu zhug ge, Ba han da ba, Chu hor, ShA+or wo, Khun 'dus, Er rgod, Mo hor, and Rgya nur.³⁸

Photo. 43. Part of a clay pot, found by a local herdsman in the Bon skor herding area.



³⁶ *Bon gshen* 'Bon practitioner' or 'Bon monk'. Gshen is the clan name of Gshen rab mi bo chen, the founder of G.yung drung Bon.

³⁷ Bon po tantric practitioners are locally called *dpon* as individuals and Bon mang as a group. Stong che bon mang of Khri ka is the second largest Bon mang in the Koknor area (Tsering Thar 2008:534, 546).

³⁸ See Nyangchakja (2011) for a discussion of local Mongol place names.

A few Bon skor elders believe that they are Mongols and, as proof, mention local Mongol place names. They claim that the village historically had many camels and *gur*, and mention that some elders can say some numbers in Mongolian. They think Mongols stayed in the local area centuries ago and that some of them married Bon skor residents. Some locals believe that their ancestors included both Tibetan and Mongols. However, most locals think they are Tibetan, citing ancestors' accounts that Bon skor residents descended from Bon po rtse bo, who was Tibetan and did not have a Mongol wife. Today, Bon skor residents speak Tibetan. Only a very few elders can say a few numbers, the names of some items related to camels, and place names in Mongol. Certain people from a few neighboring villages call Bon skor residents 'Mongols' during disputes to disparage them. Many Bon skor residents think such titles are denigrating because locals (Lha sgron, Gsang sgrog, Thin tsi) think of themselves as 'pure' Tibetans.

Many locals believe that the Mongol king gave locals a salt source – Lbo yi tshwa mtsho 'Salt Lake',³⁹ located about 155 kilometers southwest of Blue Lake, and about 250 kilometers from the local village. Locals transported salt by horses and camels until the early 1900s.

Rdo rje 'bum (b. 1980), a local villager who had been to Lbo yi tshwa mtsho, talked to elders who had been there and shared his memories (Wenchangjia with CK Stuart 2014:114):

Many decades ago, many Tibetan tribes in A mdo had their own *tshwa sgo* 'salt station' around Lbu yi tshwa mtsho Lake. Religious rituals such as burning *bsang*,⁴⁰ flicking lake water into the sky, and so on, were done to venerate this lake, which was believed to be a lake

³⁹ Today, the township nearest the lake is Tshwa kha 'Salt Source'. The Chinese 'Chaka' is derived from the Tibetan. It is administered by Dbus lam/ Lbo lam (Wulan) County, Mtsho nub (Haixi) Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Alternative names for the lake include Dbus tshwa mtsho dkar mo, Lbo yi tshwa mtsho, and Lbu yi tshwa mtsho.

⁴⁰ *Bsang* is an important offering to divine spirits. Historically, *bsang* represents purifying defilement in the human world and inviting deities. *Bsang* usually consists of juniper leaves, barley, wheat, beans, small rhododendron bush flowers, and other medicinal shrubs that are burned with a bit of liquor. Some *bsang* include such things as yogurt, milk, sweets, fruits, barley flour, blossoms, and incense with tea and liquor (Mkhar rtse rgyal 2009:128). Chab spel tshe brtan phun tshogs (1993:822) contends that *bsang* was mentioned in Bon texts prior to the time of the first Tibetan King. *Bsang* originates from the verb *bsang ba* 'purify'. *Bsang ba* and *sang pa* 'awaken' are etymologically connected. *Bsang ba* derives from a ritual related to fire, rather than a ritual related to smell and taste (Samten Karmay 2010:254).

where 1,000 goddesses lived. Such ritual was thought to delight the goddesses, who would then give more salt.

Each time water wells were ready for the salt to be extracted, bubbles appeared on the surface. The lake was then praised to also please the goddesses. The praise was an offering to the deities. However, today machines collect the salt.

The Mongols occupied Tibetan areas in Mtsho sngon in 1227, 1510, 1559, and 1639 (Rin chen nor bu 2004:22). In the late sixteenth century, the third Dalai Lama sent his representative, LA mo tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho,⁴¹ to Mtsho sngon as requested by A than rgyal bo 'Altan Khan', a Mongol king, who occupied eastern Mtsho sngon and the Kokonor region (LA mo'i yongs 'dzin blo bzang mkhas grub rgya mtsho 1993:251). This representative was a *bla ma* and his reincarnations are best known as Zhabs drung dkar po, who helped prevent conflicts between Mongols and Tibetans. Before 1958, Tibetan villages, including Bon skor, had occasional land disputes with Zhabs drung dkar po. According to locals, in the late 1800s, Zhabs drung dkar po also visited Bon skor and held religious rituals. Evidence for the history of a Zhabs drung dkar po connection with Bon skor Village is provided by a local herding area known as Bzhugs khri 'throne', which locals refer to as a place where Zhabs drung dkar po once stayed. Further histories related to Bon skor, Mang ra, and the Mongols are addressed by Bla ko 'jigs med 'phrin las rgya mtsho (1987), Blo bzang bstan pa rgya mtsho and dge 'dun dar rgyas (1994), Bya gzhung blo bzang (2006), Dkon mchog skyabs (2009), Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas (1982), Kang Furong (1968:59), LA mo'i yongs 'dzin blo bzang mkhas grub rgya mtsho (1993), Mkha' 'gro skyabs (2009), Rin chen nor bu (2004), Sum pa ye shes dpal 'byor (1982), and Ye shes bzang po (2001). Locals believe that eighteen to twenty generations have inhabited Bon skor Village from the time of Bon po rtse bo to the present day. The local village is called Bon skor 'Bon encampment' and the presence of many local Bon adherents is used as evidence by locals to assert that they are Bon po rtse bo's descendants. Other locals claim that Bon skor residents historically practiced both Bon and Buddhism, still others believe their ancestors practiced only Bon. In 2015, Bon and Buddhist scriptures more than 200 years old were kept in some households. These scriptures were buried by locals during the time of great social chaos and thus survived.

⁴¹ Also known as LA mo tsa kan no mon han and Zhabs drung dkar po. A reincarnated *bla ma*, the ninth incarnation lived in Thar shul Monastery in Mang ra County in 2015.

THE YEAR 1958

The year 1958 saw the start of a period of social chaos in Bon skor Village and surrounding villages. In 2016, local elders still had vivid memories of beloved ones who lost their lives during this period. Lha mtsho recalled:

Early in 1958, Chinese local officials collected all the rifles from the local village. Local herdsmen used these rifles to hunt and protect livestock from wolves. After a couple of months, disputes between militiamen and locals erupted. Locals escaped to the Kye phur Mountains.⁴² Soldiers followed and arrested rich people and the leader of Bon skor Village. Many men, women, and children lost their lives during this time. I recall the sounds of guns firing and a couple of airplanes flying back and forth in the sky. We were terrified. Many of our relatives were shot dead right beside us. Luckily, many of us survived by hiding or by fleeing to other mountains.

Fighting went on for two months or so. Many locals were arrested after we returned to the Bon skor Village farming area. Relatives of the rich and *dpon po* had to wear paper hats, which meant they were guilty of being related to the rich and leaders. The government often made a case that chaos happened because of rich people and *dpon po*. Anyway, locals were also influenced by such propaganda and consequently hated rich people and former leaders.

Later, some imprisoned locals were released while some died in prison. Most people were wrongly arrested. The government apologized to these people in September 1981.

According to the Guinan Compilation Committee (1996:19):

From 17 June to 20 August 1958, over 7,587 people in Mang ra rebelled against the government. The local army cracked down by executing seventy-one people and injuring, forcing the surrender of, and arresting 1,616 others. Additionally, seventy-two officials lost their lives, including a Mang ra County leader. In this process, local officials also made 'aggravating' mistakes. Apologies were offered in late 1958 for the killing of eighty-six innocent people, whose reputations were restored and subsidies were given to their surviving relatives. Over 780 people who were falsely arrested and sentenced for committing crimes were rechecked and their cases corrected.

⁴² Kye phur refers to a mountain range between Mang ra and Brag dkar counties, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

THE GREAT FAMINE

From late 1958 to late 1962 (or early 1963), the famine in China also affected Bon skor Village. Lha mtsho described her experience:

There was nothing to eat starting in 1960. It was the same everywhere. There was no *rtsam pa*⁴³ or other food. Most of our community members, including me, ate roasted edible wild plant seeds mixed with wheat husks and water. We ate it like *rtsam pa*, but of course there was no butter or cheese. It was very spicy and hard to eat. I did not eat it often and could endure hunger for a couple of days without eating anything. Locals were not allowed to have adequate portions of food nor could we cook at home. If someone saw a family with adequate food, they immediately reported it to local authorities. Rule breakers were punished, forfeiting everything their family still owned. Anyway, my mother got a bag of flour from somewhere and buried it in a pile of sheep dung by the stove. My family secretly made tiny pieces of bread and soup with bits of noodles at home once every couple of days. Most other villagers went to a communal canteen for food, but none of my family members were allowed to do so because we were descendants of the Leader's Tribe. After 1958, we and 'rich' families were considered criminals. Many starved to death. I personally saw more than ten people starve to death. Families with no men or strong young men were subject to starvation and death. Families with men ultimately survived. Men secretly hunted and stole livestock. Some ate the flesh of dead camels, while others stole and killed camels to eat. Once some people who stole a camel were later discovered by the Village Committee and beaten. Some ate dead *rkyang* 'wild ass', and some ate donkey meat, cats, and birds. I only ate camel and wild ass meat when the bag of flour at my home was empty.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

During the Cultural Revolution, religious sites were destroyed and the rhythm of mantra chanting paused. Lha mtsho said:

From 1966 to 1976, descendants of leaders and rich families were assigned extra labor and were subjected to criticism.

Before that, just after 1958, several of my uncles were imprisoned. I had to wear a paper hat signifying that I was guilty of

⁴³ Hot tea is poured into a bowl. Butter is added. When it melts, roasted barley flour, dried cheese, and (depending on personal preference) sugar is added. This mixture is mixed and then eaten once it is the texture of stiff cookie dough.

crimes. Those considered guilty because of the 1958 chaos were made to stand the whole day in the fields while wearing a white paper hat. Uncle Mgo ne rgyal, who had some sort of leader's position at the county level, was the only person from the Leader's Tribe who was considered innocent. Village Committee officials frequently organized locals to shout such slogans as 'Defeat Deities and Demons!' and 'Defeat the Four Kinds of Bad People'.

I don't know who organized it, but during this time the local Yul lha Temple and *lab rtse* were burnt to the ground. Spies among locals reported to the local government. Nobody was allowed to practice any form of religious activity, including chanting and worshipping. Engaging in any form of religious activity was punishable by extra labor and beatings.

COLLECTIVIZATION AND DECOLLECTIVIZATION

From 1958, locals' farmland and livestock were confiscated by the state. Meanwhile, policies such as Unified Purchase and Sale⁴⁴ were implemented across the country. A collective property movement was also applied in Bon skor Village. Locals could not own a single sheep or piece of farmland. Instead, the state created nine *shengchandui* 'Production Teams' in Bon skor Village that also included Bde mang and Mo dbal villages. Bon skor Village was later separated from the other two villages and four teams were formed. The village was popularly referred to as *dadui* 'Big Team', which also refers to the village committee.

According to locals, the state collected wheat from Bon skor Village from 1958 to 1983. The Village Committee controlled cropland and livestock. Local residents plowed, sowed, grew, and harvested crops. Production Team and Village Committee heads strictly monitored farming work. Heads of Bya mdo Gongshe 'commune' also regularly visited to check agricultural activities. A certain amount of the harvest given to the state was called *liangshui* 'grain tax'. Remaining wheat was stored in Tshal rnga Monastery. Monasteries were used as storage sites. Some wheat was distributed to locals based on *gongfen* 'work points' in a household. Children, elders, and the disabled did not receive this portion. Those who were able to work supported their families. The government transported most locally produced wheat outside the local area.

Several herdsmen collectively herded the local livestock, which were all owned by the state. Some herdsmen were the only ones to receive portions of meat.

⁴⁴ Starting in 1953, a policy of unified purchase and unified sales, especially for agricultural production, temporarily solved China's food shortage crisis (Cheng 2006:207).

In 1983, the Baochan Daohu 'contracting responsibility to the household' policy was implemented in the local village. It had been applied nationwide in the late 1970s prior to the central government's formal recognition in early 1983 (Larson 1998:839). Bon skor residents dismantled the communal farming system and gained individual control over local farmland and livestock. Locals then cultivated their own farmland and grew what they wanted.

After the early 1980s, tax included:

- *Bzo zhing* 'agro-industrial' tax: Out of a hundred sheep and goats per household, seven to eight sheep were required by the state as livestock taxes. The Village Committee collected these livestock and gave them to the local township and county government. This tax was abolished in the late 1990s.
- Sheep wool and goat hair had to be sold to the local township government for three to five RMB per *jin*⁴⁵ (goat wool) and 1.50–2.0 RMB per *jin* (sheep wool).
- *Nang btsong* 'internal business': Five to six sheep per household were required annually by the local township government to support the township officials. This tax ended in about 2003.
- *Khyim lug* 'household sheep': One sheep from each household was annually given to the Village Committee, who butchered the sheep and cooked the meat for leaders to consume when they visited the village. This tax ended in the late 1990s.
- Cash tax: Cash was collected from each household by the Village Committee to cover their expenses. It ended in the early 2000s.
- Cash tax for livestock. Each head of livestock was taxed annually at about 3.50 RMB between 2001–2005.
- Wool tax: A certain amount of wool was taxed per household by the local government. This tax ended in the early 2000s.
- Water tax: Irrigation water taxes were collected based on field size. In 2014, 16.70 RMB per *mu* for cropland per year was charged and 12.70 RMB per *mu* for field land planted to bushes was charged. Taxes were also applied to drinking water.

According to locals, in the 1990s, the local township government annually sold a certain amount of wheat at a reduced price. Many Bon skor residents purchased such wheat from the local government *liangzhan* 'grain distribution station', supplementing local wheat supplies.

⁴⁵ 1 *jin* = 500 grams.

Photo 44. Bon and Buddhist scriptures that survived the Cultural Revolution.



Photo 45. A Bon scripture.



LEADERSHIP

Before 1958, locals were governed by a system of *dpon rgyud* 'hereditary leadership'. A leader's eldest or most capable son was appointed leader without much villager involvement. According to locals, this system had continued since the time of Bon po rtse bo. In 1958, former local leaders and wealthy people were arrested and the Communist Party system replaced traditional leadership in Bon skor Village.

From 1957 to early 1958, Bon skor Village was named Bon skor Township (*xiang*) and administered under Bya stod chu. Gsor rgyal, a local villager, was the Party secretary of this township. Gcod pa, a local villager, was appointed the first *xiangzhang* 'township head' for a year. He died in about 1959. The second head was 'Gyu bha, who was killed in 1958. The third head was Mgo ne rgyal.

After 1958, Bon skor Village was named Bon skor Dadui under the administration of Shagou Gongshe, which later became Shagou Township.

Gsang sgrog provided the following names of leaders for each of the Production Teams in Bon skor Dadui in the early 1960s.

Table 1. Production Team Leaders

Team Number	Name of Leader	Number of Years in Position
One	'Bum me	9
Two	Dpa' bzang	8
Three	Mgon rgya	15
Four	Gsang sgrog	9

Two *dadui duizhang* 'Committee Team Leaders' were Mchog bha (b. 1941) and Thin tsi (b. 1940).

From 1958 to the late 1960s, the local government arranged leaders from other villages to manage Bon skor, except two in the 1970s. Gsang sgrog remembers the following village *shuji* 'secretaries' into the early 1970s.

Table 2. Bon skor Village Party Secretaries (1958-1970s)

Name of Communist Party Secretaries	Secretary's Home Village
Gdugs bha	Sprel nag
Bkra kho	Grog ra
Phag mo don 'grub	Ko ra'i mdo
Bun khreng	Mo dbal
Mkhar lo	Bon skor
Bsod kho	Bon skor

From the late 1950s into the early 1960s, the village financial accountant was a Han man surnamed Wang from Tsha rnga Village. 'Brug 'bum rgyal (1946-2012), a local man, also held the position of financial accountant.

In the early 1960s, the *dadui* was equivalent to the Village Committee. A couple of locals were appointed as '*dadui zhuren*' Team Director. The *dadui* was later replaced with *geweihui* 'Revolutionary Committee'. Committee directors were appointed by the government. These titles changed in the early 1970s when a formal Party committee was established in the village. At the same time, one local was selected to take the position of local village Party secretary. The local township government officially appointed the local village Party secretary and the village head.

From 1972 to 2014, Bon skor had four committee secretaries and five village heads. As of 2012, the longest held position was twenty-two years and the shortest was three years. In 2014, the Party secretary (b. 1958) and village head (b. 1967) had held their positions for fourteen years and ten years, respectively. Neither leader had attended school. These two leaders finished their terms in December 2014 and new leaders were appointed.

From the early 1960s, a leader was not necessarily chosen from a *dpon tshang* 'leader's family'. Instead, the leader was chosen by the local township government and local Party members. Locals, however, considered the male descendants of *dpon tshang* to be the true village leaders. Many locals encouraged a *dpon tshang* member to be the local Party leader. The local village Party secretary from 2003-2014 was a *dpon tshang* descendant. The new Party secretary in 2016 was also a *dpon tshang* descendant.

Table 3. Bon skor Village Communist Party secretaries (~1960-2016).

Name	Birth Year	Term	Dpon tshang Descendant
Mkhar lo	~1930	late 1960s-early 1970s	No
Dpa' kho	1942	1972-1992	No
Lcags li	1942	1993-1995	No
Thin tsi	1940	1995-2000	No
Thar re rgyal	1958	2000-2014	Yes
Dpa' rtse 'bum	1967	Dec 2014-present	Yes

Table 4. Bon skor Village heads (~1960-2016).

Name	Birth Year	Term	Dpon tshang Descendant
Rko lo	?	Late 1960s	No
Mkhar rtse	~1944-2001	1970-1986	No
Thin tsi	1940	1986-1995	No
Dpa' 'bum rgyal	1947-2009	1995-2000	No
Dpa' kho	1942	2000-2003	No
Gnam byams 'bum	1967	2003-2014	No
Tshe brtan	1976	Dec 2014-present	No

Locals could not remember the names of the earliest village heads in the early 1960s. No female had ever been chosen as leader as of 2016.

In 2000, the village head and Party secretary created serious conflict by competing for the committee secretary position. In the early 1970s, there were three to four local Party members while in 2000 there were about ten. In their struggle for the secretary position, the two candidates involved their own tribal members and the village was almost split into two groups. Following intervention by the local government and other tribes, two new leaders were appointed and tensions surrounding this issue gradually diminished. Some locals consider leader status to be highly desirable. Many locals think that these leaders sought these positions to get more power and thus able to access money, such as subsidies from the local government and village income from local land.

In 2015, there were about forty Communist Party members in the village. During elections every three years, local Communist Party members chose the village leaders. In practice, election results were predetermined. Leaders usually bribed locals in order to be elected. In recent years, most leaders have not held meetings with locals other than the Party members, which has led to infrequent communication and misunderstandings. Many Bon skor residents despair that the village leaders would ever actually serve the village and have occasionally spread rumors that leaders appropriated money from the village committee income, from the local government, and so on. As a result, Bon skor Village lacked leadership in 2014 that could effectively guide the village. Most villagers were hopeful with the new leadership in 2015.

In 2015, the local government funded 2.7 million RMB to build an office building with a yard for the Village Committee.

RESETTLEMENT

According to local elders, village farm land was situated along the Yellow River in Bon po'i zhing kha and Rab 'og ske, Bya mdo Township prior to 1986. In 1986, the government ordered locals to move to the present location – Be len — about twenty kilometers from the former location of Bon po'i zhing kha. This relocation site was designated by the local government. Even though locals move periodically from place to place in herding areas, the farming site is fixed. 'Resettlement area' as used here refers to the farming area.

Photo 46. Tree roots by the Yellow River.



Prior to village resettlement in the early 1980s, locals found tombs in Rab 'og ske and Dgon thang. A team from the Mtsho sngon Cultural Relics and Archeaology Research Bureau excavated the tombs in Rab 'og ske in 1980, yielding over 1,478 items including microblade cores, choppers, grinding tools, bone needles, and stone beads. A radiocarbon date of $6,745 \pm 85$ BP was determined, suggesting that this site is from Mesolithic age (Gai and Wang 1983:49).

Photo 47. A local herdsman found this item in the herding area. Locals believe it is a centuries old *tsha tsha*.



Photo 48. *Mchong* – the white round gem next to the right of the red bead (bottom) – was found by a local herder from a desert area in the Bon skor pasture.



There were five *ru khag* 'sections' when the village was relocated. One section moved near Dgon thang Village, which was closer to the Yellow River but on higher ground. The other four units moved to Be len. All sections were administered by a single village committee. The dammed Yellow River continued to rise in 2007. The local government then moved the last section of Bon skor near Mgo mang Town and moved Dgon thang Village to a site near Khri ka County Town.

Photo 49. The Yellow River rose and forced a section of Bon skor Village to resettle in 2007.



Photo 50. The Yellow River rose and forced a section of Bon skor Village to resettle in 2007.



Photo 51. A resettled section of Bon skor Village near Mgo mang Township Town in 2013.



RELIGION

Locals practice both Buddhism and Bon and find it hard to make a distinction, other than naming designated temples, direction of circumambulation, and scriptures for each. About two dozen locals within the Bon tradition occasionally gather at the assembly hall – Bon skor rgyal gshen rig 'dzin sems dpa'i gling 'The Assembly Hall of Victorious Wisdom Holder and Spiritual Warrior Gshen' in Bon skor, which was built in 1997. Most other locals practice Tibetan Buddhism and do not participate directly in Bon rituals and chanting at the Bon Assembly Hall. However, many of their rituals and practices are similar to those of the Bon followers. The Bon practitioners planned to establish the Bon assembly hall as early as 1993, however, this was unsuccessful due to disagreements. At that time all nearby monasteries and many locals practiced Tibetan Buddhism. Bon was considered an unacceptable practice. The Bon practitioners had to overcome many obstacles before completing the assembly hall in 1997.

Before 1958, most locals chanted Bon recitations, practiced Bon rituals, and annually invited Bon practitioners from Gze ma'i lha khang, Stong che Village. *Bon gshen* and *dpon* were invited from Stong che bon mang and Stong che khyung mo dgon g.yung drung phun tshog gling, a Bon monastery in Stong che Village. These Bon practitioners joined those in Bon skor Village for rituals and chanting. Before 1958, some Bon skor villagers also went to Stong che Village to chant and participate in such rituals as Srung ba⁴⁶ and Gze ma stong 'don,⁴⁷ rituals not observed in 2014. Local Bon practitioners now chant such mantras as *Dbal gsas*, *Khro bo*, *Spyi 'dul*, and *Zhi ba*.

Photo 52. *Sngags pa* chant at a local home.



⁴⁶ A ritual to prevent harm.

⁴⁷ Reciting *Gze ma*, a mantra, a thousand times at a ritual.

Photo 53. Two *sngags pa* chant while one makes *gtor ma*.



Photo 54. A *sngags pa* uses a *rkang dung* 'thighbone trumpet' when performing a religious ritual at a local home.



In 2014, the Bon assembly hall featured paintings and images of Mnyam med shes rab rgyal mtshan, Rnam mkhyen rgyal ba, and Kun bzang gshen lha 'od dkar, as well as volumes of the *Bka'* 'gyur.⁴⁸ On the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, local Bon practitioners hold the Tshogs brgya 'Hundred Merits' ritual, which includes chanting recitations a hundred times each of *Kun bzang gshen lha*

⁴⁸ The translated words of Gshen rab mi bo che, the founder of G.yung drung Bon.

'*od dkar*, *Spyi 'dul*, and several others. Each recitation ranges from ten to fifty pages of traditional block-print copy and handwritten texts. In the sixth lunar month, local Bon practitioners hold the Tshogs stong 'Thousand Merits' ritual, chanting about five different recitations, with each chanted a thousand times. This concludes with *zlog pa*,⁴⁹ which is also called *Drug ci ba* 'sixties'. This usually features more than sixty *gtor ma*.⁵⁰

Photo 55. A *sngags pa* chants with his religious implements at a local home.



⁴⁹ *Zlog pa* literally translates as 'expel' 'reverse' and refers to rituals to expel evils from homes and villages.

⁵⁰ Sacrificial objects include *rtsam pa* cake cones colored red, symbolizing blood. Various *gtor ma* are ceremonially presented to deities or spiritual beings for various purposes. Mkhar rtse rgyal (2009:138) writes that while some contend this ritual has Buddhist origins, certain Bon texts and current Bon practices suggest that *gtor ma* rituals were practiced in Bon in a pre-Buddhist era in Tibet.

Photo 56. A mural of Mnyam med shes rab rgyal mtshan featured in the Bon skor Assembly Hall of Victorious Wisdom Holder and Spiritual Warrior Gshen.



Photo 57. A mural of Kun bzang gshen lha 'od dkar featured in the Assembly Hall of Victorious Wisdom Holder and Spiritual Warrior Gshen in Bon skor.



Photo 58. An image of Rnam mkhyen rgyal ba in the Assembly Hall of Victorious Wisdom Holder and Spiritual Warrior Gshen in Bon skor.



Photo 59. *Lha bshos*, a type of *gtor ma*.



Local Buddhists refer to the twenty-fifth day of the tenth lunar month as *Lnga mchod*, which commemorates the death of Rje tsong kha pa.⁵¹ Local Bon practitioners hold a ritual known as *Gdung mchod* from the twenty-fifth to the twenty-ninth of the tenth lunar month, commemorating the death of Gshen rab mi bo che, the founder of G.yung drung Bon. On this occasion, local Bon practitioners chant *Dbal gsas* mantras and several other recitations a hundred times.

Photo 60. Bon *sngags pa* wear *dkar mo rtse rgyal* and chant in the Bon skor Assembly Hall of Victorious Wisdom Holder and Spiritual Warrior Gshen.



Locals believe boys and men becoming Buddhist monks, or Bon practitioners, brings security and good luck. A monk in the family brings more merit to the family because he will chant mantras and will occasionally chant at the family home. Parents, especially those with several sons, may send one or two boys to a monastery to become monks. Some families may arrange for a son to become a monk at around the age of ten. Some families first send their children to the local primary school and then, after graduation, send them to such local monasteries as:⁵²

- Ba kya'i grwa tshang phun tshogs dar rgyas gling was founded by the second 'Ja' mo Dkon mchog bstan 'dzin nyi ma bla ma (1791-1854). This Dge lugs monastery is located in Ba kya Village, Hexi Town, sixteen kilometers from Khri ka County Town.

⁵¹ The founder of the Dge lugs Sect.

⁵² Dates related to monastery founders are from Rdo rje tshe ring (1999:192, 306, 553, 565, 577).

- Go ra'i mdo mtshams khang dga' ldan dben gnas yid dga' chos 'dzin gling, founded by the sixth Yar kha lung rtogs nyi ma bla ma (?-1976) in 1925. This Dge lugs monastery is located three kilometers from Bya mdo Township Town, Mang ra County.
- Klu tshang dgon bshad sgrub dar rgyas dge 'phel gling, founded by the fourth Rnye blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1850-1909) in 1889. This Dge lugs monastery is located two kilometers from Mang chu Township Town, Mang ra County.
- Stong che khyung mo dgon g.yung drung phun tshog gling was founded by Sog btsun ston pa ye shes in 1351. This G.yung drung Bon monastery is located in Dong che Village, Hexi Town, thirteen kilometers from Khri ka County Town.
- Tho le⁵³ dgon rnam rgyal phun tshogs chos rdzong gling, was founded by Bla ma yul gur dge 'dun bstan pa rab rgyas (1834-1911) in 1878.⁵⁴ This Dge lugs monastery is located in Tho le Village, Mang chu Township, thirty-nine kilometers from Mang ra County Town.
- Tshal rnga dgon dga' ldan dar rgyas gling, founded by the seventh Lwa mo zhabs drung dkar po Dge 'dun bstan 'dzin nor bu dpal bzang (1872-1927 or 1873-1937), in 1902. This Dge lugs monastery is located in Gur lhas Village, seven kilometers from Bya mdo Township Town, Mang ra County.

Photo 61. The assembly hall of Tshal rnga dgon dga' ldan dar rgyas gling in 2012.



⁵³ Mtho las is an alternative spelling.

⁵⁴ Some local monks contend that it was founded by LA mo dge 'dun bstan 'dzin nor bu (1873-1937).

Photo 62. Tho le dgon rnam rgyal phun tshogs chos rdzong gling in 2013.



Photo 63. The assembly hall of Go ra'i mdo mtshams khang dga' ldan dben gnas yid dga' chos 'dzin gling in 2013.



Photo 64. The assembly hall of Ba kya'i grwa tshang phun tshogs dar rgyas gling in 2013.



Photo 65. *Mchod rten* in Ba kya'i grwa tshang phun tshogs dar rgyas gling.



After several years of study at such monasteries, monks may go to Lha sa to enter such prestigious monasteries as Se ra, 'Bras spungs, and Dga' ldan for further study. In 2016, there were nearly a hundred monks from Bon skor. Some spend their entire life at monasteries studying and practicing Buddhism. Others return to their former monasteries to become teachers and monastic leaders. A few monks attend schools in India.

Although there were undisciplined monks prior to the 1990s, modernisation has increasingly eroded monastic discipline and provided new, alluring lifestyle options. For instance, monks now have cell phones that allow easy contact with outsiders. The availability of motorcycles and cars has made travel easy. Monks can now easily meet women if they desire. Many monks have become laymen. For example, twelve Bon skor monks became laymen in 2008.

Many villagers, especially elders, are fervently religious. Elders use prayer beads to chant mantras each morning and evening. They also encourage family members to chant, and may scold them when they do not. They believe chanting and practicing the dharma brings them and others a better life. Consequently, adults and even many young children know how to recite mantras. People who regularly chant are respected.

The former village *ma Ni*⁵⁵ hall⁵⁶ was destroyed in 1958. Local people rebuilt in its current location after the village relocated to its present site. It was expanded in 2007 with the addition of three, two-meter high *ma Ni* wheels and later with brick courtyard. The hall contains several Buddhist images and volumes of the *Bka' gyur*⁵⁷ and the *Bstan 'gyur*.⁵⁸ In 2015, the local government provided 180,000 RMB to rebuild the local village *ma Ni* Hall. Most elders go to the *ma Ni* hall daily to turn the *ma Ni* wheels, pray, and chant. Most local Bon followers participate in activities at the *ma Ni* Hall. After installing the new prayer wheels, a schedule was made to ensure that the wheels are kept rotating twenty-four hours a day.

Villagers gather at the *ma Ni* Hall on the fifteenth day of the fourth lunar month and on the twenty-second day of the ninth lunar month. During each of these three-day periods, participants fast and recite *ma Ni* aloud.

Every year on the third to tenth days of the sixth lunar month,

⁵⁵ A short form of *oM ma Ni pad+me hU~M*, the six syllable mantra of Avalokiteshvara.

⁵⁶ A hall where locals daily turn *ma Ni* wheels.

⁵⁷ The translated words of Buddha.

⁵⁸ The collection of commentaries on the Buddha's teachings that were later translated into Tibetan.

*sbyin sreg*⁵⁹ 'burned offerings' is held. Monks are invited from surrounding monasteries to chant. However, few monks have done this in recent years because most monasteries forbid monks to chant at homes. Much of the monastery's current income is derived from individual donors and government subsidies. They no longer rely on local villagers. Most local elders who frequently chant various mantras participate in *sbyin sreg*.

Photo 66. Locals participating in a *sbyin sreg* ritual.



Photo 67. Both males and females attend the ritual and chant with their *dbang chas*⁶⁰ tied around their heads.



⁵⁹ Monks burn such items as melted butter with beans and herbs in the belief that doing so delights the local deities, who then ensure good health for locals.

⁶⁰ The red cloth tied around the head given to mantra practitioners who have received certain permissions from their *bla ma*.

Photo 68. Locals gather at a *ma Ni* hall to perform *sbyin bsreg*.



On the eighth, tenth, and fifteenth days of each lunar month, groups of local elders and adults perform *tshogs*.⁶¹ During the ritual, locals gather to chant mantras transmitted by a *bla ma*. This is called *dbang lung* and is a form of giving permission for chanting the mantras. At the end of each *tshogs*, locals receive fruit (e.g., apples and peaches), bread, and candy that are referred to as *tshogs zas*. These items are considered blessed by the chanting. *Tshogs* refers to the general ritual where *dbang lung* is performed and where mantras are chanted.

Photo 69. Locals perform *tshogs* at the local *ma Ni* hall.



⁶¹ *Tshogs* literally means 'merit' and, as used here, refers to a ritual. Participants believe that they acquire merit by chanting at this ritual.

The Yul lha Temple in Bon skor Village enshrines a Yul lha image in the center, along with Shan pa rwa mgo on the right and Shan pa tsi thung on the left. This temple's predecessor was in the former village farming location. It was established by locals at the instruction of Rje gser khang pa, a *bla ma* (1780-1848), who meditated in the local area (Rnye blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 1996:98). Gsang sgrog gave this account of the temple's origin:

In the 1800s, a *bla ma* was in seclusion in a cave not far from the Yul lha Temple location in the former local village in Bon po'i zhing kha. One day while crossing Bon po'i zhing kha, he saw a woman milking a cow that was tied to her with a chain. When the *bla ma* asked why she had chained herself to the cow, she said that the cow could easily be stolen by thieves from Chos tsha Village. The woman then heated some milk and offered it to the *bla ma*. Understanding her difficult situation, the *bla ma* asked her if he could help. When he was leaving, he used blood from his nose to write on a cloth, gave her the cloth, and told her to build a Yul lha temple there with other locals in the fields of the A rig Tribe. This woman was from the A rig Tribe, which lived adjacent to the Bon po Tribe in Bon po'i zhing kha. The term A rig Lha khang 'A rig Temple' is also used to refer to the Yul lha Temple.

Photo 70. Yul lha is enshrined along with images of Shan pa rwa mgo on the right and Shan pa tsi thung on the left in the local Yul lha Temple.

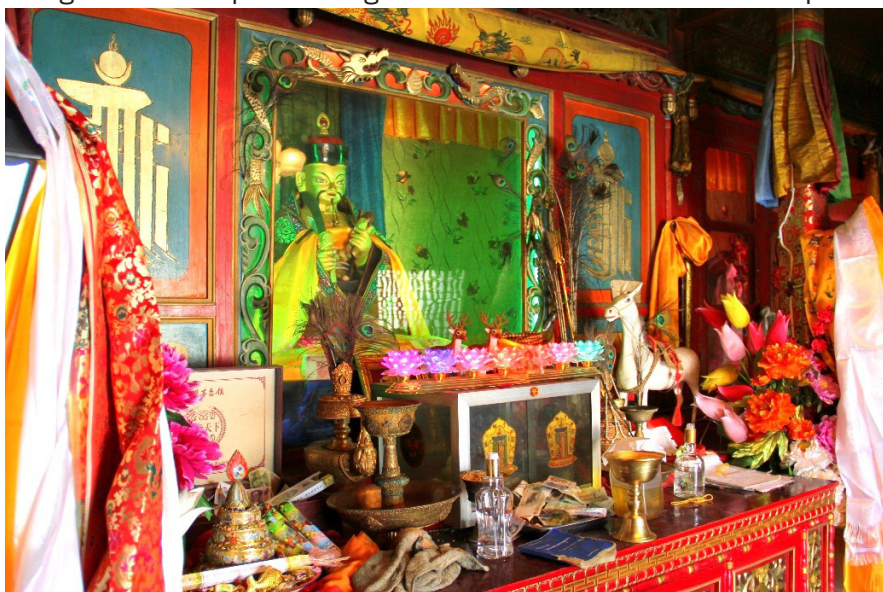


Photo 71. Shan pa tsi thung in the local Yul Iha Temple.



Photo 72. Shan pa rwa mgo in the local Yul Iha Temple.



When Bon skor residents were few in number, neighboring Chos tsha villagers persistently bullied them by riding their horses through their fields and over cheese spread out to dry on the ground. Locals then beseeched Yul lha for protection and built a temple. This temple is a branch of Yul lha Temple in Khri ka County, where locals burn incense to pray for prosperity and protection.

According to Gsang sgrog, Yul lha was a Han man born from an egg in a nest on a rocky mountain. One day, when a hermit was meditating in the mountains, he saw something in a nest. He curiously approached and saw that it was an egg. He chanted the mantra of 'Jam dbyangs nag po'⁶² and the sun began to shine over the egg in the nest. In time, the egg hatched and a human baby emerged.

Since the hermit was in an isolated area, he lacked food, but he had a red cow that he milked to feed the baby. The hermit sent the baby to a school in Sichuan Province when he was older. As soon as he finished school, he was ordered by the Chinese emperor to go to Mtsho sngon and mediate between Tibetans and Han. He then came to Khri ka, where the main Yul lha Temple is now located.⁶³

Some locals say that he later became a general on the border between Sichuan and Mtsho sngon. Because of his power, locals enshrined his image after his death and prostrated to it. He thus became the deity – Yul lha. Others say that Yul lha was once a minister to the Chinese emperor. His colleagues disliked him and killed him. He then became the powerful deity Yul lha in his next life.

⁶² Black Manjushri is a wrathful healing deity and one of the various emanations of Manjushri, the Buddha of Wisdom. This practice is aimed at healing mental and physical suffering and is considered particularly useful for counteracting virulent disease, malevolent forces, and forms of disharmony in the environment (<http://tinyurl.com/9jyj2rs>, accessed 20 February 2015).

⁶³ According to Rta mgrin rgyal (2013:31), A myes yulha, or Khri ka'i yul lha, is the Tibetan name of this deity, who is called Wenchangye or Zitong in Chinese. Yul lha is enshrined in the Yul lha Temple in Khri ka and is a Chinese deity from Zitong County, Sichuan Province. It was originally enshrined in a temple on Sme bdun (Qiqu) Mountain. From the Tang Dynasty (618-907) to the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), this deity was beseeched and prostrated to by emperors and locals. One of the eight Tibetan senior Qing Dynasty imperial tutors, the second LA mo gser khri/ 'Jam dbyangs bstan pa'i nyi ma (1689-1738) incarnation, also prostrated to Yul lha and wrote a *bsang yig* 'incense scripture' for Yul lha. He realized the importance of unified belief in Yul lha in the Mtsho sngon po area. Later reincarnations of this *bla ma* worshipped Khri ka'i yul lha as a *srung ma* 'guardian deity', which continued in 2016. Tibetans began worshipping this deity from Khri ka over 400 years ago. Gradually, many Tibetans across Mtsho sngon and Gansu, regardless of sect, worshipped Yul lha. In 2015, there are nearly fifty Yul lha temples in Tibetan villages in Mtsho sngon, Gansu, and Sichuan.

The Yul lha Temple in Bon skor Village is a branch of the one in Khri ka.

Locals believe that Yul lha comes whenever incense is burned to call him. Many summon him as indicated by such local sayings as, "Yul lha wears out a pair of metal shoes and a set of metal clothes every day," and "Yul lha rides thousands of horses per day, one after the other, to save people's lives." Today, locals burn incense for Yul lha every morning and evening. A village caretaker ensures that incense at the temple burns continuously. Whenever locals need help, regardless of religious affiliation, they first burn incense in the temple and ask for Yul lha's assistance. For example, if a student will soon take a school examination, the student's parents go to the temple and ask the deity for help, hoping their child will make a good score. If a local buys a car or motorcycle, they visit the temple and ask Yul lha for good luck while operating the vehicle. Furthermore, when a local finds a spouse, the couple goes to the temple to better ensure good luck in the marriage.

While burning incense and reciting the *bsang yig* 'incense scripture' at the Yul lha Temple, locals also invoke their own *srung ma* 'guardian deity', who is usually Dpal ldan lha mo.⁶⁴

A wooden image Yul lha was in the Yul lha Temple at the village's old location. The temple was destroyed in 1958. It was not until about 1986 that locals rebuilt it. At that time, Bla ma Kho tshe⁶⁵ blessed its reconstruction. Gsang sgrog⁶⁶ assisted in building the temple and became its caretaker. The Yul lha image was made of wood and was located in Be len.

⁶⁴ Most villagers venerate this deity. Families venerating Dpal ldan lha mo generally rarely intermarry with families who do not.

⁶⁵ This *bla ma* from Khri ka County oversees both the Yul lha Temple and *lab rtse*. He was forced to become a layman in 1958 and later married. Locals respect him as much as a *bla ma* who wears a monk's robe.

⁶⁶ Gsang sgrog provided information about Yul lha.

Photo 73. Bla ma Kho tshe.



Lab rtse were also destroyed in 1958. In 1989, Gsang sgrog and Rka lo asked three *bla ma*⁶⁷ for permission to build a *lab rtse*. Bla ma Kho tshe told them to build it. No one was allowed to touch or move the Yul lha image or make significant changes to the *lab rtse* without consulting Bla ma Kho tshe, the only person able to directly communicate with and control Yul lha, and the *lab rtse* deity, A myes sgro ri rab brtan thogs med.

To construct the *lab rtse*, a three-meter deep hole was dug and filled with two metric tons of grain and a copper vase filled with butter. Elders said that the butter ensured the village's future wealth. A *srog shing* 'main beam' or 'life-tree' was also placed vertically in the center of the hole with coral and silver around the beam at ground level. These articles remained under the *lab rtse* in 2016. According to locals, the *lab rtse* previously had a *srog shing* inscribed with Bon religious mantras, however, locals replaced it in 1989 during reconstruction, with Tibetan Buddhist mantras. The local Bon practitioners wanted the *lab rtse* reconstructed in the Bon tradition, however, most locals wanted to reconstruct it in a Buddhist tradition

⁶⁷ The three *bla ma* were Kho tshe (b. 1949), the sixth Rje zhwa dmar pa (1953-1986), and Gung ri mkha' 'gro ma (1935-2011). The current Rje zhwa dmar pa reincarnation was identified in about 1994.

because they believed that the Bon tradition was inauspicious. Afterward, many local Bon *sngags pa* did not go to the *lab rtse*. Local concepts of Bon and Buddhism were vague and, at that time, largely influenced by nearby Buddhist monasteries. A painting of the *lab rtse* deity was also destroyed in 1958. A new one was created later, however, locals believe it differs from the previous painting in terms of style, color, and size.

Photo 74. A new painting of Sgro ri rab brtan thogs med painted after the Cultural Revolution in the Yul Iha Temple.



Photo 75. An old *thang ga* that has been passed down for generations, survived the destruction of 1958.



Photo 76. A new painting of Yul Iha at the new Yul Iha Temple in the resettled fifth section of Bon skor Village in 2014.



The local *lab rtse*'s deity is Sgro ri 'Feather Mountain', which Gsang sgrog explained:

A woman once put a feather in her vagina, where it was moved by the blowing wind. She then became pregnant and eventually gave birth. The baby grew up and became a great Bon practitioner. After he died, Bon po rtse bo began construction of Sgro ri lab rtse on the eleventh day of the fourth lunar month. It was completed on the nineteenth day of the seventh lunar month. Bon po rtse bo then built the *lab rtse*, enshrined a Sgro ri image, and prostrated to it as a deity. Afterwards, locals called it Sgro ri lab rtse.

Every year on the nineteenth day of the seventh lunar month, a sheep was sacrificed to the *lab rtse*, and to A myes brag dkar.⁶⁸ However, from the 1990s, people sometimes sacrificed the sheep and sometimes they did not. Bla ma Kho tshe decided not to sacrifice sheep, as some locals considered sacrificing animals was sinful. The top of the *lab rtse* bends slightly inside. Elders say that Bon po rtse bo did this after assuming the shape of a Bon practitioner's *dkar mo rtse rgyal*⁶⁹ hat.

Bon skor Village has another *lab rtse* called Su me,⁷⁰ located in Rab 'og ske, a part of the village's former location. Rin bzang explained this lab rtse:

After horses belonging to Phyug bdag ma of the Rgya phyug Tribe in Bon skor Village were stolen, a family member pursued the thieves and found the *g.yang ra* or *srung rtags* 'protection symbol'⁷¹ on a thorny bush on the road. This family later established a *lab rtse* at the site where the Protection Symbol was found. In addition, twelve smaller *lab rtse* were established on adjacent hills - children of the first *lab rtse*. They are collectively called Su me lab rtse ma bu bcu gsum 'Su me lab rtse of twelve children and the mother'. Locals

⁶⁸ Brag dkar was powerful during his lifetime. After his death, he became a deity who dwelt in the mountains of Brag dkar rdza in the east of Mang ra County.

⁶⁹ The cap worn by Bon gshen.

⁷⁰ Locals believe it is a goddess. The area of the *lab rtse* is also called Su me. It is unknown if the name Su me was first given to the *lab rtse* or the location.

⁷¹ After chanting mantras, a tuft of sheep wool is tied on the neck of a horse or to its mane, to bless and protect it. Such horses are not casually ridden. They are offered as mounts to holy and respected people. Sheep and horses with such symbols are considered protected through a ritual called Tshe thar 'sparing life', which is intended to save or prolong people's life (Gcan tsha bkra bho 2011:327). Locals also hold this ritual when someone is seriously ill. Afterwards, such livestock are never sold or killed.

mention that 'Su me' is a Mongol word for 'spacious valley' and also the name of a Mongol woman who had twelve children.

This *lab rtse* is locally believed to protect and bring wealth to the village and also help give birth to girls who will become beautiful, eloquent women. Bon skor residents, especially the Rgya phyug Tribe, annually held this *lab rtse* ritual on the first day of the sixth lunar month until 1958. Locals burnt *bsang*, offered milk, and held horse races during the ritual. Women also participated in this ritual by burning incense. The *lab rtse* was covered by reservoir water in the late 1980s. Rig grol of the Rgya phyug Tribe relocated the *lab rtse* to higher ground in the early 1990s. Certain Bon skor residents offered *bsang* and prayed at the *lab rtse*, but did not repeat the annual ritual after 1958, except once in the early 1990s. Some people believe that the female deity to which the *lab rtse* is dedicated is occasionally too wrathful toward locals who make mistakes and thus they are reluctant to hold the ritual.

Su me Lab rtse was near Rgya thog Village. Over time, these villagers joined the annual Su me Lab rtse festival. From 2000, as the government implemented land division policies, local villages became entangled in various disputes. In the course of these conflicts, Bon skor Village lost a sizeable piece of land to Rgya thog Village, including the site where the *lab rtse* was located. Rgya thog villagers created a new Su me Lab rtse and conducted *lab rtse* rituals there. However, few Bon skor residents participated and the previous *lab rtse* was abandoned.

Photo 77. The new Su me Lab rtse in Rgya thog Village in 2013.



DEATH

There are four ways of dealing with a human corpse, each related to the five natural elements – earth, water, fire, wind, and sky: *sbyin sreg* 'cremation', *rlung la spur ba/ bya la g.yeng ba* 'sky burial', *sar bjol ba* 'earth burial', and *chu la bcol ba* 'water burial'.

The deceased's family consults a local *bla ma* known as the *sngas mgo'i bla ma* 'bla ma near the corpse', who may come and chant for the corpse. This *bla ma*, *grwa ba* 'monk', or *sngags pa* chants *Smon lam*,⁷² *'Pho ba* 'transference of consciousness',⁷³ and *Bar do* 'intermediate state'⁷⁴ by the ear of the corpse before most funeral activities start.

A corpse should not be touched before a *bla ma* or a monk makes recitations, especially *'Pho ba*, otherwise, the *rnam shes* 'consciousness' of the deceased will be unable to leave the corpse (Rin chen 2011:2). Meanwhile, the family prepares *ba chu skor gsum*, a package containing *rtsam pa*, butter, cheese, bread, salt, tea, and other necessities including a pot, bowl, knife, needle, thread, and cloth. The family puts these articles in a *ta len*⁷⁵ and gives it to the *sngas mgo'i bla ma*. The *bla ma* is thought to be able to give these items to the deceased.

The family sometimes takes tea bricks, *kha btags*, and cash (100-500 RMB), depending on the financial condition of the family, to as many as seven *bla ma* and asks them to pray for the deceased. This activity is called *bsngo zhu*.

⁷² *Smon lam* 'wishes' 'aspiration' 'prayers' as used here, suggests Tibetan Buddhist scriptures. There are many *smon lam* recitations. However, in the local village, *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po*, a Dge lugs recitation (Nor brang O rgyan 2011:621), is chanted.

⁷³ A technique in Tibetan Buddhism of transferring consciousness at the time of death.

⁷⁴ A state of suspended reality in which the deceased has the opportunity to realize the true nature of reality. If the deceased is capable of recognizing the confusing, frightening *bar do* visions as their own mental projections reflecting their previous life's thoughts and karma, the ongoing cycle of birth and death will be overcome. Failure leads to rebirth and further suffering in *samsara*. To help the deceased understand this ambiguous situation, a spiritual teacher recites inspirational prayers and instructions from funeral texts - the first stage in the ritual of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* (<http://explore.lib.virginia.edu/exhibits/show/dead/texts/transitions1>, accessed 9 June 2015).

⁷⁵ Saddlebags woven from wool.

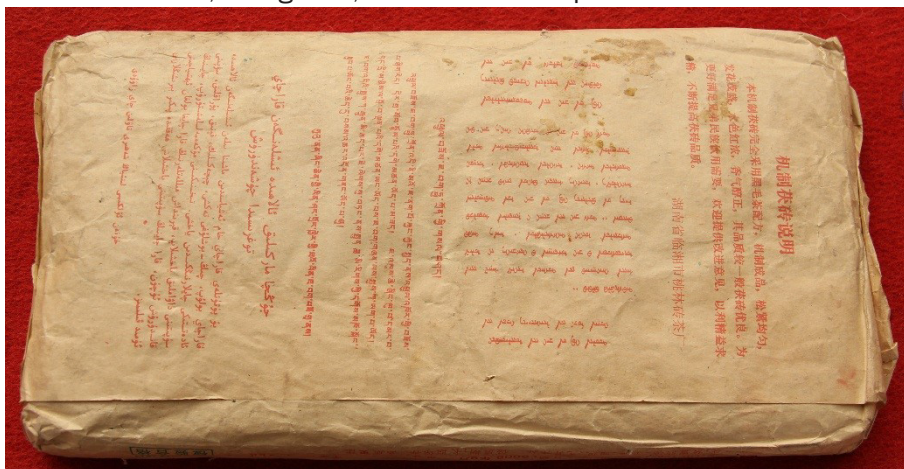
Photo 78. *Ja bag* 'brick tea' is used for drinking and gifts. Brick tea is given to *bla ma*, leaders, *A zhang*, relatives, and friends, along with *kha btags* as gifts.



Photo 79. *Ja bag* 'brick tea' used for drinking and gifts in 2014. This tea was produced in Hunan Province.



Photo 80. *Ja bag* 'brick tea' used for drinking and gifts. The package features Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese scripts.



Among the *bla ma*, the *sngas mgo'i bla ma* is the most important. The *sngas mgo'i bla ma* divines, and states the way the corpse will be disposed of and the specific date. The longest time a corpse can stay in a home is seven nights. In 2016, a corpse was generally dealt with within a day or two. However, locals may consider keeping the corpse longer, because it is thought that the corpse might return to life. The person is thought to be dead when the corpse is considered to be very cold. Experienced elders or *bla ma* decide if the person is truly dead. At this time, a mature man from the family uses a white rope or cloth to bind the corpse in a fetal position, with hands palm to palm held near the heart, as if praying. Barley or other grain wrapped in wool are placed between the palms. Locals tie the corpse in a fetal position to express their wish for the deceased to be reborn as a human.

The cloth rope is pulled tight around the throat to prevent sounds emerging from the corpse's mouth. The man doing the tying stays behind the corpse, to avoid seeing the face. A mature man from the family may wash the corpse before tying it, but only for cremation. Finally, the entire body is wrapped in white cloth or placed in a *bum khug* 'vase sack'. The corpse's hair is tied together at the top of the head to resemble the top of a *bum khug*. Four one-meter long *phur ba* 'wooden poles' are placed around the corpse to support it. A white cloth hung around the *phur ba* covers the corpse to prevent others from seeing it.

About twenty-five years ago, corpses were transported by horses and people, at which time tying and wrapping a corpse were essential. However, not all families do this today, because vehicles are often used to transfer corpses to the site of final disposal.

If the deceased is a meritorious person such as a reincarnated

bla ma, he may naturally sit cross-legged and palm-to-palm, as if meditating during death. This is called *thugs dam* 'spiritual vow'. At such times, family members ensure that the room has a peaceful atmosphere. They do not touch the corpse until *thugs dam* is complete. In the case of *thugs dam*, though the person has died, the chest area around the heart remains warm. *Thugs dam* sometimes takes a few hours, but may last one to seven days, though this is rare among ordinary people. Signs of ending *thugs dam* include the corpse bleeding from the nose or hanging its head.

After the funeral, a wealthy family invites ten to fourteen monks, while poor families invite one to seven. The actual number depends on the family's economic condition and the availability of monks. Monks hold the *bdun 'dad pa* 'seven funeral prayer' or 'funeral virtuous acts'⁷⁶ ritual generally for seven days, though some families hold it for fourteen days. An *A mchod* (a monk who performs death ceremonies or chants for families) chants *Thar mdo*⁷⁷ for forty-nine days. This period is called *dgung zhag zhe dgu*. Relatives, friends, and neighbors visit and offer *myig sngun* 'condolences' with tea bricks, *kha btags*, butter for lamps, and cash of around twenty to 500 RMB. The amount of cash depends on their relationship and family circumstances.

Most close relatives, especially elders, fast for some time and chant *ma Ni* during this period. Relatives may cry after a death, however, this is thought to hinder rather than help the *rnam shes* of the deceased from leaving this world. Women fetch water, cook for visitors, make butter lamps, burn *tsha gsur 'rtsam pa* offerings',⁷⁸ and chant *ma Ni*. Females are culturally forbidden to touch the corpse unless there is no man in the home, in which case women must handle the corpse. Children are not allowed to go near the body or into the room where it lies to avoid being frightened.

⁷⁶ During this period, the monks chant *Khrus chog*, *Sa lam dkar gsum*, *Smon lam*, *Bde mchog*, *Kun rig*, and *Stong mchod*.

⁷⁷ *Thar mdo* is a short form of '*Phags pa thar pa chen po phyogs su rgyas pa zhes bya ba thag pa chen po*' *mdo*.

⁷⁸ Barley flour is placed in a fire to smoulder. Drops of pure water are offered as an offering to the naga 'water deities'.

Photo 81. *Tsha gsur* is a burned offering made to water deities. Barley flour is placed on a fire to smolder and drops of pure water are added.



Photo 82. *Bsang rtsi* 'incense materials' usually consist of barley, grain, barley flour, coniferous foliage, and herbs.



The process of taking a corpse to the funeral site is called *skar ma*,⁷⁹ and is usually done in the evening when stars are shining. Only men are involved. If people or animals carry a corpse, it must not rest on the ground in fear the deceased's soul will linger there. After the corpse is taken away, a plowshare, knife, or piece of metal is placed where the corpse was kept in the home in order to repel negative emanations from the deceased. Traditionally, it is considered auspicious if someone meets or sees people taking the corpse to a disposal site as epitomized in the local saying, "A fortunate person meets corpses and an unfortunate person meets *gto*."⁸⁰ The latter is considered unfortunate as it symbolizes misfortunes.

Photo 83. A local *sngags pa* makes materials for conducting a *gto* ritual to expel misfortunes.



⁷⁹ Literally 'star'. The funeral time is decided after a *bla ma* or other knowledgeable person consults the Tibetan calendar. *Skar ma* refers to time and, locally, *skar ma* indicates the time to conduct the funeral.

⁸⁰ *Gto* is a healing ritual, or a ritual to expel misfortune.

Photo 84. This item represents a castle. *Gtor ma* are placed by it to attract evils into the castle as *sngags pa* chant. Eventually, someone from the home where the ritual is performed takes the castle and *gtor ma* (collectively known as *gto*) to a designated site where it is left.



Cremation and sky burial are common locally. Water disposal and earth burial are rare. For those who die naturally, their corpse is taken to the *dur khrod* 'charnel ground',⁸¹ where a new *phur ba* is commonly thrust into the ground. The white cloth and ropes from the body are removed. The corpse is tied to the *phur ba* with a rope looped around its neck. The corpse is placed on its stomach or, sometimes, on the right side.

The family also brings a knife from the home that will not be returned. Someone who is not related to the deceased uses the knife to cut open the skin of the back, buttocks, and legs. A monk from a nearby monastery usually assists. When the flesh has been exposed,

⁸¹ In the past, Bon skor Tibetan Village had several *dur khrod* within its territory. However, local government policy implemented in 2000 required that fences be built. Afterwards, *dur khrod* locations are no longer used. Instead, locals use the *dur khrod* near Ra rgya Monastery, Rgyul mgo Township, Rma chen County, Mgo log Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

people retreat as vultures immediately come and feed. The first vulture that touches the corpse is the *bla bya* 'spirit bird', the one deserving of the first offering. There are usually hundreds of vultures at the *dur khrod*. When the vultures finish eating the flesh, which is usually in a little less than an hour, the skeleton and skull are left attached to the *phur ba* with the rope. The caretaker shoos the vultures away, and collects and crushes the bones. The brain is removed from the skull, which is then crushed. The caretaker then stays at a distance while vultures eat the pulverized bones. Finally, the vultures eat the brain and fly away. Locals consider providing the corpse to vultures as a final offering to sentient beings.

Vultures may be reluctant to eat the corpse of an unclean or very old person. In such cases, the family invites *bla ma* and monks to the home to do additional chanting, burn *tsha gsur*, and put *dar lcog* 'prayer flags',⁸² and *rmu thag*⁸³ on hilltops near the *dur khrod*. If vultures still refuse to eat the corpse, the *bla ma* advises the family to cremate or bury it. Locals rarely kill vultures. A local saying goes, "*Bya chen la rdo dang mi chen la tshig*" No stone to vultures and no bad words for great men.

After the corpse has been consumed, the deceased's clothes, hair, and shoes are burned near the *dur khrod*. Other personal belongings such as metal items are buried.

Corpses may be cremated in a monastery or town. Cremation is considered to be offering the corpse to deities in Heaven. Locals believe that cremation is more appropriate for monks and nuns because they are considered more meritorious than laymen. Cremating laymen, especially women, is considered inauspicious and polluting to deities in Heaven. However, given its convenience, cremation of women has become more common. Sometimes a cremation takes place in a family courtyard, although most home cremations are for monks or highly respected elders. The location is decided by a *bla ma*. Afterwards, family members take the ashes to holy mountains and lakes. Taking ashes to Dbus gtsang⁸⁴ is considered ideal because placing and scattering the ashes in holy areas helps bring about a better reincarnation.

Such activities as washing, tying, and wrapping the corpse are also done for burial. Elders may be buried. Young children who die without identifiable cause are commonly buried. A *bla ma* makes

⁸² *Dar lcog* gradually became related to certain mantras and recitations as Buddhism influenced Tibet (Karmay 2010:304).

⁸³ Coarsely woven sheep-wool yarn. It is believed that the first seven kings in Tibet were attached to a *rmu thag* 'cord' and went to Heaven after their deaths. Their corpses then disappeared like rainbows (Nam mkha'i nor bu 1994:325).

⁸⁴ Two locations in central Tibet.

such decisions and identifies a burial site. A family also buries the corpses of family members if it has historically done so for generations with a *bla ma*'s guidance. However, if several people have died from the same or similar cause, the family or a *bla ma* generally suggests cremation or sky burial.

Water burial is only practiced in the case of drowning or suicide. For drowning, the body is recovered from the water, wrapped, and then put back into the water.

When the corpse bearers return to the deceased's home, they wash their hands and faces with water outside the household gate, near a small fire made on dark stones. Drops of water touch the stones and sizzle purifying the corpse bearers. The soul of the deceased is no longer attached to them.

Such activities as *bdun 'dad pa* continue after burial. The *A mchod* chants *Thar mdo* at the family home or in a monastery for forty-nine days after the day of death. Locals believe that the deceased's soul will stay in *bar do* for up to forty-nine days, although a meritorious soul may reincarnate in as little as seven days. It is crucial to chant *ma Ni*, burn *tsha gsur* and *bsang*, and fast because these activities help the soul easily reincarnate. Such activities during the forty-nine days are collectively called '*dun 'hope for*' or *mya ngan 'grief*'.

During this period, the deceased's relatives do not wear new clothes, sing, wash, cut their hair, hold weddings, wear ornaments or colorful clothing, and do not kill animals. They also avoid mentioning the deceased by name. Women tie white wool string to the end of their braids and men wear a white string around their hat, or wear it inside out. After forty-nine days, most such activities stop. The family does not celebrate *Lo sar 'New Year'*, but others may visit them during this period.

The deceased's name is commonly never said in the presence of their close relatives to avoid distressing them. Instead, such euphemisms as *ma drin chen* or *ma dge ldan ma* 'loving mother', *pha drin chen* or *pha dge ldan po* 'loving father', *drin chen po* 'gracious one', or *de* 'that', 'him', 'her' are used. Consequently, many young family members do not know the names of older generations. Nonetheless, a local saying goes, "*Mi shi yang ming brjed mi rung, rta shi yang sgrog 'bor mi rung*" Do not forget the name though they are deceased; do not lose the fetter, though the horse is dead.

EDUCATION

There was no school when the village farming site was in Bon po'i zhing kha. Prior to 1958, local village leaders arranged for Rka lo⁸⁵ to teach the Tibetan alphabet to locals. Then, in about 1967, a primary school was built in Dgon thang, a kilometer from Bon po'i zhing kha. In the mid 1970s, Tshul khri⁸⁶ taught the Tibetan alphabet and math to local children. Later, another villager, Rgya kho,⁸⁷ taught Tibetan. Several local children enrolled. However, locals were reluctant to send their children to school because their daily life was overwhelmed with family chores and attending a formal school was something new. Local teachers treated students badly whenever they made mistakes. Beatings were common. Many children stayed at home and tended livestock. Only four or five Bon skor children attended the school, and only irregularly. None graduated.

In September 1981, the government apologized in writing to certain local families for some who were imprisoned and killed in 1958. As partial compensation, the relatives of those who had been killed, despite their limited literacy, were offered positions in local government, including police work and accompanying leaders on business trips. However, no locals accepted because they thought herding and farming were more reliable forms of livelihood.

In the early 1980s, the local township government announced that anyone with a primary school education could obtain an official job in the local government. People with limited literacy in Tibetan, but who had never been to school, were even encouraged to take such jobs. Though such jobs paid relatively well, locals preferred to herd and farm. In contrast, certain neighboring agricultural villages enthusiastically sent their children to school. Most got official jobs later. As a result, the number of government employees in neighboring villages increased. In 2005, Bon skor Village had only two government employees – a doctor and a primary school teacher. Another local received a teacher's position in 2006 and another four received teacher positions in 2010, 2011, and 2012. By 2013, about seven locals in total had received official jobs.

Most current Tibetan local government workers are from farming villages. Few are from pastoral villages. However, in 2016, pastoralists increasingly value education and official jobs because school conditions and policies have improved. Additionally, local government implemented pastureland division and resettlement

⁸⁵ The former Yul lha temple caretaker (~1929-1979) after 1958.

⁸⁶ Yul lha temple caretaker in 2016.

⁸⁷ A local villager (b. 1951).

policies that decreased the sustainability of a pastoral lifestyle. As a result, education was seen as providing a better future.

After locals were resettled in Be len in 1987, the local Education Bureau began a primary school project in Bon skor. Lha rgya (b. 1957), a Tibetan teacher from the Bya mdo Township Primary School, was designated as headmaster for the new school. Rdo rje phun tshogs, from the County Education Bureau, assisted Lha rgya from 1987 to 1990 during the school construction phase. In 1987, the school location was selected by Lha rgya and two local village heads. The headmaster lived in a tent during the construction phase, which ended in 1989. Lack of water and fuel were problems. Lha rgya and the village leader, Dpa' kho (b. 1942), suggested that the local township government provide a water container. The government then sold a three-ton metal oil drum to the village for 700 RMB. Bun khreng (b. 1947) and 'Brug 'bum rgyal (1945-2012) used a truck to fetch water in the drum until 1991.⁸⁸

Photo 85. In 1987, the local township government sold a three-ton metal oil drum to the village for 700 RMB to store water while constructing the local primary school.



Kun thub rgyal (b. 1963) a local man, taught basic Tibetan to students in a tent in one herding area – Mu ge thang. Kun thub rgyal studied Tibetan independently while he was herding and was also taught by a local monk, Tshul khrim.

⁸⁸ Running water reached Bon skor in 1992 from Tsha rnga Village, which had running water from 1981, the year it was resettled.

On 29 September 1990, Bon skor Village Primary School opened and ninety students enrolled. Grade Six was added in 1998. There were four teachers, two cooks, one headmaster, and one manager. Each student was required to give seven and a half kilos of mutton or yak meat, one hundred kilos of grain, and 500 kilos of sheep droppings and cow dung for fuel. In addition, each student paid thirty to fifty RMB per semester. These requirements continued until 2006.

The fourth headmaster, 'Brug lha rgya, recalls:

Students wore old clothes, stayed in unrepaired leaking dormrooms, and slept under torn quilts and sheets. The local County Town Property Bureau gave eleven RMB per month for each of eighty students. Flour was bought with this money.

In June 2012 there were seven Bon skor university graduates and six students in college. Twenty-five students took the university entrance exam in 2012: eight were admitted to Bachelor of Arts programs, two enrolled in college preparatory programs, and fifteen were admitted into Associate Degree programs. In 2012, three had graduated with MA and MBA degrees. In 2013, one graduate was a PhD candidate at Minzu University of China in Beijing. In 2013, sixteen students took the college entrance examination. Five were enrolled in preparatory programs and eight enrolled in Associate Degree programs at Mtsho sngon Nationalities University and Northwestern Nationalities University. Three students did not enroll in colleges and planned to retake the entrance exam in 2014. A total of twenty-three local students took the college entrance examination in 2014. Six passed and enrolled in four-year BA programs. Others enrolled in preparatory classes for BA programs, vocational schools, and three-year BA programs. One student pursued a MA in Linguistics at Qinghai Nationalities University and another was pursuing a MA in Sustainable International Development at Brandeis University (USA) in 2014. In 2015, about sixteen local students took the college entrance examination. Of this number, three were admitted into formal BA university programs, one was admitted into a one-year preparatory program leading to a four-year BA degree, one to a MA program, and the others were admitted into self-study higher education programs.

Table 5. Students and Staff.

Year	Students	Graduates	Junior Middle School Students	Teachers	Cooks
1990	90	0	0	4	2
1991	120	0	0	6	2
1992	145	0	0	7	3
1993	190	0	0	8	3
1995	184	6	5	8	3
1996	180	2	1	8	3
1997	173	0	0	8	3
1998	165	3	1	8	3
1999	150	3	0	8	3
2000	150	11	3	8	3
2001	140	4	1	8	3
2002	145	4	2	8	3
2003	166	7	1	8	3
2004	211	8	2	9	3
2005	230	13	6	9	4
2006	280	27	23	12	4
2007	304	0	0	14	4
2008	308	32	28	14	4
2009	314	38	38	14	2
2010	310	40	40	14	2
2011	280	73	73	18	2

Table 6. School headmasters (1987-2011).

Name	Birth Year	Term	Home Location
Lha rgya	1957	1987-1994	Ra dza Village
Bstan rgyal	1945	1994-2001	Gur lhas Village
Tshe brtan rgyal	1972	2001-2002	Gur lhas Village
'Brug lha rgyal ⁸⁹	1976	2002-2009	Ske ba Village
'Brug rgya	1971	2009-2011	Rdzong 'gon Village ⁹⁰

The first headmaster established the school and the fourth headmaster, 'Brug lha rgyal, developed the infrastructure and teaching quality at the school, made effective changes in school facilities, and brought qualified teachers to the local primary school. His dedication resulted in much improvement.

⁸⁹ He has a BA in Tibetan Literature from Mtsho sngon Nationalities University.

⁹⁰ Lha khang thang Township, Khri ka County.

'Brug lha rgyal stated in 2008:

Every year, the number of students increases. On average, students are doing better and better. We see this through their exam results each year on both official exams and our local school exams. For instance, this year, the sixth grade is the top for one subject among all the township schools. The school has changed a great deal since I came here as headmaster. The school facilities, environment, teaching methods, and education have all improved and the number of students has increased. This is because most locals now understand the importance of education, parents support the school, and because of government investment in education.

Table 7. School managers (1990-2016).⁹¹

Name	Birth Year	Start	End
Rgya mtsho	1938	1990	1991
Bun khreng	1947-2012	1991	1992
Ska lo	~1929-1999	1992	1994
Rgya mtsho	1938	1994	2000
'Bum me	~1948	2000	2001
Dbang bha	1972	1989	present

While student attendance increased overall, only a few continued schooling after graduation because junior and senior middle school tuition and living expenses were expensive and parents insisted that their children marry or become monks. Arranged marriage had been common but was infrequent in 2016. Many early primary school graduates are now married and have children, some are divorced and have remarried, while others herd and farm.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

In 2004 the school received 56,000 RMB as part of the government policy of Returning Degraded Pasture to Grass ⁹² on the school-owned grassland.

The headmaster discussed the problems of local students' attendance with the local government in 2004. They then cooperatively announced that locals must send their children to school or face a 500 RMB fine per child. As student numbers subsequently increased, the headmaster asked the local County Education Bureau to build adequate school classrooms and dormitories to accommodate more students. In 2004-2005 many

⁹¹ 'School managers' refers to staff who oversee operation of the kitchen, facilities, food, and fuel.

⁹² Tuimuhuancao.

students were taught in a tent. Soon classrooms and dormitories were built, beginning with twelve brick rooms. In 2014, the local village committee provided the school with 1,500 *mu* of grassland. This grassland was leased and from 2012 was earning 10,000 RMB annually for the school.

In terms of teaching methodology, teachers used a traditional teacher-centered approach with the teacher talking for most of the class time. In 2006, the school established a library.

Many students found school boring and were afraid of teachers who beat them with bamboo sticks and plastic rulers. This was a primary reason many students dropped out. Locals were discouraged by such an educational system.

In 2004, the local primary school started an English training program, an idea initiated by a local student, Kha ba rnam rgyal (my uncle) who obtained an MA in Sociology from the Ateneo de Manila University in Manila in 2007. This program was continued by the Friendship Charity Association (which I directed), from 2004 to 2014. It was held twice a year during school holiday periods.⁹³ Initially, eighty percent of locals were reluctant to send children to school, preferring that they herded and farmed at home. This teaching program was expanded to include Tibetan and Chinese languages. It was a great success, as indicated by the students' keen interest and higher exam scores. In August 2012, twenty-five students, some of whom were from the first groups to participate in the holiday program, enrolled in colleges. Over time parents became increasingly positive about this program.

Photo 86. Local students receive awards after a teaching program.



⁹³ A final report on this program in 2012 may be viewed at <http://tibetanplateau.wikischolars.columbia.edu/file/view/2012+Teaching+Program+Final+Report.pdf>, accessed 26 August 2014.

Photo 87. Local students during a teaching program in Bon skor Village Primary School.



Photo 88. Students dance after class.



Photo 89. Local students.



Photo 90. Local students participate in a teaching program.



Photo 91. Local students take an exam during a summer teaching program.



Photo 92. A local student takes an exam.



Photo 93. Bon skor Primary School in 2010.



Photo 94. Bon skor Primary School library books.



In 2006 the classroom buildings were completed and began to be used. However, more classrooms were needed due to the rapidly increasing student population. Another project to build more classrooms was then funded by the local Education Bureau.

In 2005, the Lillian Kirby Tuttle Fund provided funds for a library book project for the school.⁹⁴ In 2006, I applied to the German Embassy and received further funds to service the increasing number of students.⁹⁵

The school earned 18,000 RMB in 2006 from leasing pasture and cropland. In 2007, the classroom buildings built before 2000 were repaired by a project funded by the County Education Bureau. Additionally, the school earned 11,000 RMB from grassland rent.

In 2009, headmaster 'Brug lha rgyal was transferred to another school as headmaster and worked there until 2011. He was then assigned as supervisor of a county kindergarten in Mang ra County Town until 2014.

In August 2011, government policy required all local primary school students to move to township and county town primary schools. Bon skor Primary School then became a kindergarten. In January 2015, there were four teachers and seventy-six children aged four to six at the kindergarten. Two teachers were subsidized by the local government and two by the local village committee.

While delivering better school infrastructure conditions, the policy of consolidating local schools meant children above the age of eight were able to meet their grandparents, parents, and relatives for only four to eight days per month. Students far from home often missed their parents and grandparents and, at the beginning of each semester, some dormitory rooms were filled for an hour or so with the sounds of children crying. These arrangements interfered with the traditional relationships between children and family members. Opportunities for children to listen to elders tell riddles, stories, folktales, and their own oral histories were limited. In the new classrooms, fifty to sixty students, sometimes of different ethnicities, were placed in a classroom. These students no longer had opportunities to learn customs and traditions from their families. In fact, many children increasingly spoke Chinese better than Tibetan in their homes.

In March 2015, the local government announced a new plan of 7.7 million RMB to build new school buildings with three floors of classrooms in Bon skor Village, primarily for kindergarten children.

⁹⁴ A final report may be viewed at <http://tinyurl.com/nbsk5gf>, accessed 21 February 2015.

⁹⁵ A final report may be viewed at <http://tinyurl.com/k7dalgy>, accessed 21 February 2015.

However, according to the village leader, this plan also implied that grade one to three in primary school that were previously consolidated in local township and county central schools would be moved back to the new school.

The centralized Tibetan primary schools provided bilingual education with Tibetan language as the primary medium of instruction. Nevertheless, the government periodically encouraged these schools to emphasize Chinese language. Tibetan textbooks were designed and unified with other Tibetan primary, junior middle, and senior middle schools at township, county, and prefecture levels within Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Contents of textbooks from outside the local prefecture were somewhat different from those in Mtsho lho. There were a limited number of culturally relevant contexts in the Tibetan textbooks both in Mtsho lho and elsewhere. Some Tibetan schools designed self-published textbooks to supplement the official ones.

Local school enrollment rates increased exponentially after 2004. Students were exposed to mainstream society and the outside world through learning Chinese, some English, and through social media using mobile phones with various applications. Gaining a practical level of both Tibetan and Chinese languages with a solid background in math, physics, and chemistry became a challenge due to poor teaching quality. Nationalities universities and colleges in the Tibetan areas of Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu, and Yunnan provinces, and the Tibet Autonomous Region focused on providing majors in Tibetan language and literature. Jobs were extremely competitive for Tibetan college graduates because most students majored in the same field. Mang ra County had few official jobs for graduates. When graduates faced obstacles in gaining employment, parents questioned the value of formal education in leading to stable employment providing a decent income. There were very few vocational schools that prepared students to find well-paying employment. As graduates were often in school and separated from their villages, their knowledge of local customs and traditions became increasingly limited. Local elders and youths who were not educated in state schools and, as a result, more strongly retained local traditions, often questioned the value of school graduates. Meanwhile, the local herding lifestyle changed rapidly with resettlement policies. Most locals hoped their children became well educated and earned a good income, but the restrictive job market was a puzzle.

ECONOMY

In 2000, Bon skor Village had 57,000 sheep, goats, and cows. Locals earned income by selling sheep wool, goat hair, and animal skins, and surplus rapeseed and wheat. Prices fluctuated. In 2014, the local market price per kilo for mutton was fifty-four RMB, twenty-four RMB for pork, and sixty RMB for beef. In 2012 and 2013, beef was seventeen to thirty-six RMB per kilogram. Hui and Han buy livestock from local herdsmen. Most locals think it is a great sin to sell livestock to buyers, who take the livestock to slaughterhouses and then sell the meat in local towns. Some *bla ma* have encouraged locals not to sell and kill many livestock. Some have asked local herdsmen to stop killing sheep and eating meat. However, herding has been the key income source for locals and many were unable to quit, given the lack of alternative income sources and the important role of meat in the local diet. In 2015, an increased number of Tibetans bought livestock from local herdsmen and sold them to Hui and Han. These Tibetan middlemen were mostly from resettled villages near local towns and were able to do this business easily and quickly before outsiders were able to reach the remote herding villages. Local Tibetan businessmen also often sell livestock to Hui and Han buyers in town. Much of the meat from the local township slaughterhouse is ultimately purchased by local Tibetans.

In December 2015, the price for a sheep was much lower than in the past three years as a result of increased sales of sheep. A sheepskin sold for five to ten RMB and many local herdsmen decided not to sell, choosing instead to make sheepskin robes.

Lha mchog (b. 1984), a local herdsman recorded the prices for sheep, sheepskin, tea, salt, and sugar (below). He expressed concern over unpredictable price fluctuations of animal products in local markets.

Table 8. Sheep and Sheepskin.

Year	Ordinary Sheep RMB	Fat Sheep RMB	Sheepskin RMB
2015	300-650	850-900	5-10
2014	800-950	1,000-1,300	30
2013	800	1,000-1,400	60-70
2012	800-1,000	1,000-1,500	60-70
2011	800-1,000	1,000-1,500	50-60
2010	600-700	1,000	40-45
2009	500-600	800-900	30-35

Table 9. Salt, Tea, and Sugar.

Year	Item	Amount <i>jin</i>	Price RMB
2010-2015	salt	1	2.0
2008- 2009	salt	1	1.5
2012-2014	tea brick	1	15.0
2008-2011	tea brick	1	13.0
2013-2014	sugar	1	4.0
2011-2012	sugar	1	3.0
2008-2010	sugar	1	2.5

The Bon skor grassland of 415,000 *mu* was divided from 2000–2003 among households according to the number of family members and livestock. In 2013, 155 *mu* of grassland was allocated per person, while a sheep or goat was allocated one *mu*. In 2014, the area of grassland per household ranged from 400 to 1,200 *mu*. Locals received 10.38 RMB per *mu* per year from the local government as a subsidy from the Returning Degraded Pasture to Grass Policy.

The local government announced Returning Degraded Pasture to Grass and Returning Cropland to Forest⁹⁶ in 2000. Bon skor Village had 2,200 *mu* of cropland diverted to this project. The government gave 160 RMB per *mu* to locals in 2007, which increased to 200 RMB per *mu* in 2008. Each family had fields where they plant grass and trees. A family's income from this project depended on how many *mu* of trees and grass they planted. Initially this project was slated to continue for ten to fifteen years. At first, birch trees were provided by the local Forestry Bureau. Afterwards, locals purchased and planted trees on both local cropland and arid areas. Most of the trees survived, however, this project ended in Bon skor after two years. In 2015, another tree planting project was funded by the government and implemented in a local desert area. The village lacked an organizer and had little contact with the local Forestry Bureau. Without subsidies from the local government and environmental awareness training, most locals and local township officials lacked an incentive to plant trees for anti-desertification.

When introduced in 2000, the national policy of Returning Degraded Pasture to Grassland was officially represented as a program to protect the environment by reducing the number of livestock. Fencing and dividing pasture among households limited the number of livestock that each household could own. This reduced locals' income, which depended on herding. For example, in 2002 my family gave up herding, which required much effort and time and produced relatively little income, and moved to the farming area. Many herders gradually focused on planting barley, wheat, and

⁹⁶ Tuigenghuanlin.

potatoes. Some sold their livestock and also relocated to the farming land. Each herding household had been assigned farmland and generated income by selling surplus rapeseed and wheat. From 1987 to 2003, my family grew rapeseed and wheat on fourteen *mu* of cropland in Be len. Father recalled that the best harvest produced about 450 kg of wheat per *mu* of cropland. The worst year saw about one hundred kg of wheat per *mu*. Prices for wheat over the years fluctuated, but sold for about 0.5 RMB per kilo. My family had 1,500-2,000 kilograms of surplus wheat after storing wheat for a couple of years in the early 1990s.

Beginning in 2003, locals who provided cropland to the Returning Cropland to Forest Policy received one hundred kilograms of wheat per *mu* as a local government subsidy for three years. My family provided about eleven *mu* of arable cropland for this project and kept about three *mu* to grow wheat until 2014. In 2015, local government funded and implemented a health clinic project for Bon skor Village on this three *mu* of cropland.

From 2006 to 2012, locals received 160 RMB per *mu* of cropland instead of 100 kilo of wheat. Some grew grass on the cropland instead of trees. The local government first provided 160 RMB per *mu* of cropland to those who grew grass. This was later reduced to ninety RMB. In 2012, it was nineteen RMB per *mu*.

By 2012, implementation of the Policy of Returning Cropland to Forest had resulted in a seventy percent reduction in the amount of local farmland. In 2015, most locals depended on government subsidies for food. There was no written contract between the local government and local households on the duration of this subsidy.

In 2013, the entire local farmland irrigation system and 1,500 *mu* of irrigated farmland was reconstructed, therefore, nothing was planted nor grown. Locals purchased food from the local township and county towns and also received a subsidy of 160 RMB per *mu* as part of the project. In 2014 and 2015, locals grew wheat and grass on their farmland.

Photo 95. An irrigation ditch shared with Tsha rnga Village.



Photo 96. Cropland and an irrigation ditch in 2013.



Photo 97. Local cropland and an irrigation ditch in 2012.



In 2015, the village had 7,900 *mu* of non-irrigated farm land, 1,860 *mu* of irrigated fields, and 2,500 *mu* of forestland.

The local farming area has sandy soils and shallow topsoil. Harvest depends on irrigation water, which is available in unpredictable amounts. Consequently, harvest yields are occasionally inadequate for locals to meet their own needs, let alone sell.

In 1992, the pipe bringing running water to Bon skor Village broke. When finally replaced in 1998, taps were installed in most households. Originally Tsha rnga and Bon skor shared one pipe from a cistern, which created water shortages in both villages due to the volume of water decreasing over distance. Consequently, Bon skor Village lacked adequate running water until 2010. Even in 2015, no household in the herding or farming areas had a bathing facility. In order to shower, locals had to travel about seventy kilometers roundtrip to the nearest town by vehicles and motorcycles.⁹⁷ Most locals bathe once a year or never. To heat water at home, they use sheep and cow dung and coal. Over time, the poisonous fumes from burning these fuels negatively impact health. Some families do not heat water to wash either clothes or their hands. Because of a lack of warm water, many wash their clothes only once every two to three months; others wash at longer intervals or never. Lack of sanitation and poor hygiene awareness and practices cause illness. Women pay little attention to their health, partly because they have received very little instruction about health and hygiene. Even when they are unwell, they feel they must wake up early and work hard all day.⁹⁸

In 2010 a water project funded by the Canada Fund and implemented by Friendship Charity Association provided a separate water pipe to Bon skor.⁹⁹ Beforehand, because of insufficient water from the source reservoir, water did not reach each family's courtyard. However, from 2014, with an additional cistern provided by the local government, the water supply from a central water tap proved adequate.

⁹⁷ The nearest township town is Mgo mang Township Town. A one way trip cost ten to fifteen RMB in 2015.

⁹⁸ Refer to the final report of a project (<http://tinyurl.com/m5avgb3>, accessed 30 January 2015) implemented in the resettled part of Bon skor Village.

⁹⁹ The final report for this project may be viewed at <http://tinyurl.com/pgs7x6e> (accessed 30 January 2015).

Photo 98. A reservoir for drinking and irrigation water for Bon skor and Tsha rnga villages.



Photo 99. Pipes from a reservoir move water to a cistern.



In 1964, part of the local herding area was cultivated by the Horse-Military Station.¹⁰⁰ In the early 1960s, Bun khreng and Sko lo were each *dadui zhuren* 'Team Director' in charge of village issues. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Mkhar lo was the first local village Party secretary. In about 1989, Bla ma Kho tshe and the local village Party leader, Dpa' kho, and the village head, Thin tsi, negotiated with the Horse-Military Station for payment to cultivate part of the herding land. Afterwards, 10,000 *mu* of non-irrigated field land owned by the local village committee earned 70,000 RMB, 17,500 kilograms of barley, and 17,500 kilograms of wheat per year as rental fees from the Horse-Military Station. The same amount of income was paid in 2014.¹⁰¹

From 1997-1999, most locals were in debt to the township government for failing to return loans used for purchasing three years of crop seeds and fertilizer. Eventually the village committee returned the loan. Beginning in 1999, most local village income from grassland rent went to the village committee and was used for wages and stipends for the supervisors of local cropland, drinking and irrigation water, and pastureland.

Locals have poor Chinese language skills and many are illiterate in both Tibetan and Chinese. For these reasons, they have been slow to undertake migrant labor. However, in recent years, some locals have traveled to neighboring counties and prefectures to collect and sell caterpillar fungus. Some seek to earn income by driving, waitressing, singing and dancing in clubs, and as laborers at construction sites. Largely because of few vocational skills and limited education, household income is low. In 2012, a household of six family members earned about 4,500 RMB in cash, excluding the subsidy described below.

From 2007, each local family member who was registered in the government household record before 2002, received 300 RMB per year (increased to 600 RMB in 2008) as a subsidy for village resettlement in 1986. Unregistered households did not receive this subsidy. Using this income and sheep, houses, goats, and farmland as collateral, local households began borrowing from the local Rural

¹⁰⁰ A designated site to raise horses for the military was begun in about 1938 by Ma Bufang (1903-1975), a Muslim wordlord in Mtsho sngon during China's Republican period. Over ten such stations became clusters of households. Today, Chinese farmers reside in these stations. These farmers are hired by the Guinan County Prataculture Development Limited Liability Corporation. This company administers the farmland (<http://tinyurl.com/q5sxhwa>, accessed 21 February 2015). Locals refer to such stations as *machang* or *madui* 'horse station'.

¹⁰¹ Bon skor Village former Party leader, Dpa' kho, provided much of this information.

Credit Cooperatives in 2009. The interest rate was six percent. The loan amount was equal to the amount of annual resettlement subsidy the family received. For example, if each family member received 600 RMB and a family had six members, they could receive a loan of 3,600 RMB.

In October 2010, the loan policy changed. A group of five to ten households could borrow money collectively, while fewer than five households could not. The five to ten households were required to borrow and return money at the same time. In this case, each family could borrow 10,000-50,000 RMB and the interest rate increased to about twelve percent. The bank recorded the number of livestock, amount of government subsidies, and houses per household, which was collateral for the loan. If a household within the group did not return funds within a year, no household in the group could borrow again until the money was repaid. Government subsidies for the household that did not repay were taken by the bank. Locals consider loan procedures and regulations to be complex, further compounded by banks exclusively using Chinese language. Chinese-Tibetan translation services for oral exchanges and written forms related to bank business have never been provided.

In 2013, according to the village head, the entire village borrowed seven million RMB for one year from the Bya mdo Township Rural Credit Cooperative.¹⁰² In total, thirteen million RMB was borrowed in 2014 and another thirteen million RMB in 2015. Loans pay for student tuition, house construction, food purchase, medical cost, and debt repayment. Very few locals start enterprises and make profits. Younger family members sometimes collect and sell caterpillar fungus or work at construction sites throughout the year to repay the loan. Some purchase vehicles and derive income from driving passengers between the village and local towns. However, the number of vehicles has increased in the past two to three years so drivers do not earn much.

The local government constructed a paved road between Tsha rnga Village and Bon skor Village in about 2009, but it soon deteriorated due to very poor construction quality. In 2015, the government had a budget of six to seven million RMB to construct a new paved road from Tsha rnga Village to the end of Bon skor Village and an unpaved stone road from the local village to the Mu ge thang herding area.

¹⁰² The Bon skor Village head in 2014 provided much of this information.

LANGUAGE

Bon skor residents speak an A mdo Tibetan nomad dialect. It is the only village in Bya mdo Township where this nomad dialect is spoken.¹⁰³ Other villages in the township speak A mdo Tibetan farming dialect and Mtsho sngon Chinese dialect. As mentioned earlier, several elders speak a few words of Mongol.

Through migration and intermarriage, other A mdo Tibetan sub-dialects and the Mtsho sngon Chinese dialect have influenced the local Tibetan dialect. Some locals speak the local dialect mixed with Mtsho sngon Chinese, especially for names of new products, e.g., *diansi* (*dianshi*) 'television' and *dianhua* 'telephone'.

In 2010, a group of local youths, monks, students, and teachers, began holding an annual village meeting to emphasize the importance of speaking an unmixed language in order to preserve the local language. In 2012, some educated local monks and students donated ten to 1,000 RMB each and purchased illustrated books featuring Tibetan terms for new items that were distributed to locals. A second meeting was held in 2013 to test locals, who ranged in age from twenty to fifty. Awards were given to the best learners. As a result, local adults began to recognize the importance of speaking their own language. In 2015, locals considered mixing Tibetan with Chinese to be shameful.

From 2003, the Bon skor Tibetan Village Primary School periodically published a journal *Bya chu'i 'gyur khugs* 'The Rhythm of Bya chu River' with locally raised funds. However, the funds ran out, threatening the end of the journal. Fortunately, in 2011 a donor provided 10,000 RMB that allowed for the publication of 500 copies (in 2011) and for two more issues to be published in 2012 and in 2013. The journal publishes non-political poetic and literary works, non-fiction essays, and short stories translated from Chinese and English. A major goal is to encourage students to study and write in Tibetan. Local writers are encouraged to contribute to the publication. A new journal editorship hopes locals will take an interest in seeing their children's works published and thus, better appreciate the value of education, and encourage their children to attend school.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ An example of speech given by a local elder is available at: (<http://tinyurl.com/q6cqouq>, accessed 21 February 2015)

¹⁰⁴ The journal may be viewed at (<http://tinyurl.com/kbbmk2w>, accessed 21 February 2015).

HOUSING

Bon skor residents traditionally lived in *sbra nag*. The short form is *sbra*,¹⁰⁵ which literally translates as 'coarse yak tent' or 'goat hair cloth tent'. 'Nag' means black. This 'black tent' is made of black *rtsid pa* 'coarse yak hair'. Locals spin this hair with a *'phang*¹⁰⁶ 'spindle' into *thags* 'yarn' using a traditional technique called *thags chas*. Cloth is woven from this yarn by women. Panels of such cloth are stitched together by men to make the *sbra*.

Photo 100. A spindle.



¹⁰⁵ In local dialect, *sbra* is usually pronounced 'ra'.

¹⁰⁶ About thirteen centimeters long, the '*phang shing*' spindle is the width of a thumb. The '*phang shing*'s end is narrower than the middle and top. The '*phang lo*' round stone features a thumbsize hole in the center, where the '*phang shing*' is inserted. The '*phang lo*' remains in the center of the '*phang shing*', which is used as a wheel to turn the '*phang shing*'. These two items together are the '*phang*'.

Photo 101. Two local women weave *thags* from sheep wool to make fabric used for cushion covers and bags.



Photo 102. Local women make *thags*.



Photo 103. Weaving *thags*.



Sbra were very common in the village before 1995. However, in 2014, I could not find a single family using one in Bon skor, although some neighbor villages used *sbra* at the direction of certain *bla ma*. *Sbra* were usually stored at their owner's home where, after years of storage, many were decayed. As recently as the 1980s, when locals spun, wove, and pitched tents, riddles similar to those of other herding villages were asked and answered (Nam mkha'i nor bu 1994:166):

¹ གཡག་བརྒྱུ་ལ་སྒྲ་ཐིག་གཅིག་ཅི་རེད།

² དེ་ཐོང་བ་རེད།

³ གཡག་གཅིག་ལ་སྒྲ་ཐིག་བརྒྱུ་ཅི་རེད།

⁴ དེ་སྒྲ་ནག་རེད།

¹g.yag brgya la sna thig gcig ci red

²de phreng ba red

³g.yag gcig la sna thig brgya ci red

⁴de sbra nag red

¹Question: What is a hundred yaks with one nose rope?

²Answer: Prayer beads.

³Question: What is a yak with one hundred nose ropes?

⁴Answer: *Sbra*.

The largest *sbra* was known as *sbra leb*. Medium and small ones were variously called *ra nag*, *sbre'u mtshes*, *re tho*, and *ho log*. *Ras* translates as 'cloth' and *re* means 'yak hair felt'.

All the *sbra* were square and shared the same features other than size. For a large *sbra*, each side was about four and a half arm spans (about nine meters) up to about fifty-six square meters (Tshe brtan rgyal 2010:26). Since the 1980s, most *sbra* in Bon skor Village gradually became smaller because locals used light canvas tents – *ras gur* – that were easier to transport and pitch. Many locals made *ras gur*, while others purchased them in the local township market. In 2014, the most recently made *sbra* from a neighbor village, Sha rgya, were about twenty-six square meters in size.

Photo 104. A *sbra* in Sha rgya Village in 2014.



Large *sbra* had eight *nang kwa* 'internal poles': one at each corner, two from the upper part of the tent or far edge coming from the door, and two poles by the door.

Sketch 1. Inside a tent.¹⁰⁷



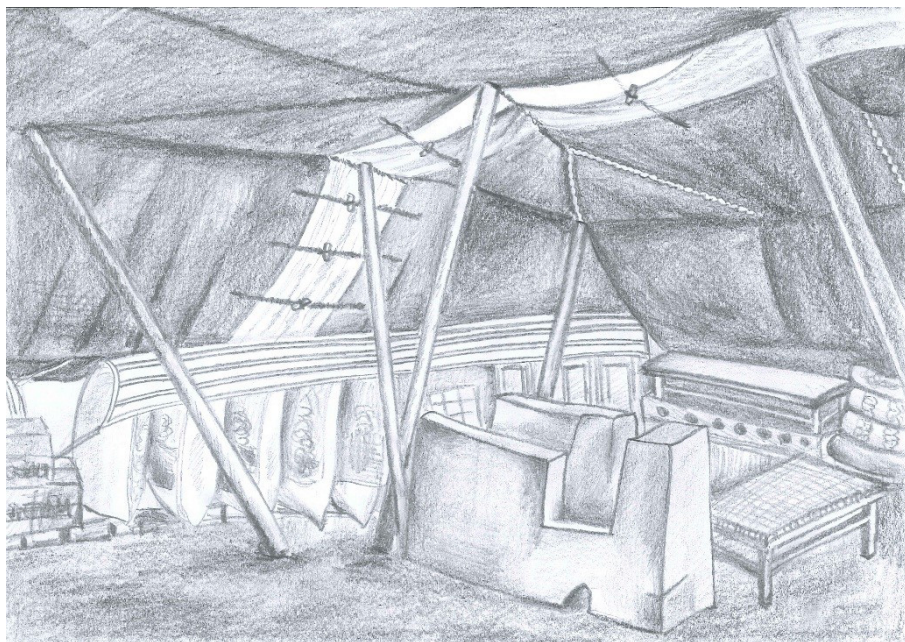
The *phug kwa* 'upper poles' were made of birch wood to create stability and permanence. The *sgo kwa* 'poles by the door' were made of cypress wood and were thought to bring wealth to the family. The other four poles were made from willow or juniper, depending on availability. Medium sized tents had seven poles with only one pole at the upper rear part of the tent, and one by the door supporting a *gzhung kwa* 'beam' above.

A gap about forty centimeters wide ran down the center of the tent roof from the top of the rear pole to the door pole. Fifteen *zung nga* 'straps' with juniper *cha ru* 'wooden buttons' or 'pegs' were on one side. The other fifteen *A lung* 'buttonholes' or 'loops' were on the other side.¹⁰⁸ The gap was bridged by the fifteen straps. This *kha tshub* 'gap' was above the *brog thab* or *sgyid pu* 'adobe stove' and was both a skylight and smokehole. A piece of white yak or goat hair cloth on the roof was used to cover the *kha tshub* during rain and snow.

¹⁰⁷ Drawings of tents and yurts in this book were made by Yao Danrong (b. 1983).

¹⁰⁸ A *cha ru* was considered a *pho sgrog* 'male button' and featured a button or peg. An *A lung* had the buttonhole and was referred to as *mo sgrog* 'female button'.

Sketch 2. Adobe stove inside a tent.



There were twenty-four textile cords inside the *sbra*, which were all made of yak or goat hair: four *thad thig* 'side cords', four *gru thig* 'corner cords', eight *thur thig* 'declining cords',¹⁰⁹ and eight *ngo thig* 'ceiling cords'.¹¹⁰

The four *gru thig* and two *ngo thig* ended in loops outside the *sbra*. Some *chon thag* 'tent ropes' outside the *sbra* were linked to these loops. The tent had four corner ropes and five *sa* 'dogs' 'ground ties'. A large *sbra* usually had nine to eleven *chon thag* that stretched the tent outward. These included four *chon thag* from the four corners of the tent, two from the middle of the two sides, two from the door, and one from the *phug chon* 'rear pole'. These nine *chon thag* were stretched around the *sbra* and tied to *phur ba*, wooden stakes about forty or more centimeters long pegged into the ground. The middle of each *chon thag* was raised by a *chon kwa* 'cypress or birch pole' about one and a half meters long. In the process of pitching a *sbra*, the *nang kwa* 'internal poles' were positioned after the *sbra* was lifted and stretched upward and outward by the *chon thag* and *chon kwa*.

A man who was considered lucky and not a widower pegged the *phug chon* and *sgo chon* 'door pole' when a new *sbra* was pitched.

A long white cloth with rectangular pieces of different-colored

¹⁰⁹ Cords on the four sides of the inner tent.

¹¹⁰ Cords on the tent ceiling.

cloth, printed with *rgyal mtshan rtse mo'i dpung rgyan*¹¹¹ and *rlung rta*¹¹² was attached at one edge and hung or tied along the *phug chon* and *sgo chon* to form a *sgo dar* 'door banner' / 'silk'.

The *sgyid pu* 'stove' was made of stone and adobe and was at the center of a *sbra*. The *sgyid pu* had three hearths: two *mar sgyid* 'lower hearths', and one *yar sgyid* 'upper hearth'. The latter was connected to the *bang kha* 'fuel store', which was partly supported by two *bang shing* 'wooden blocks', and contained yak or sheep dung for fuel. This stove had two small holes, one on each side, for ash removal.

The right side of the *sbra*, when looking inwards from the door, was for males while the left was for females. Women usually did not go to the male side and vice versa. The male side is considered the *lha sa* 'holy place' and the female side was considered the *g.yang sa* 'place of fortune'. During a wedding, the bride usually sat on the female side while a local *sngags pa* or monk chanted *g.yang 'bod*¹¹³ on the male side. Guests, elders, and respected males sat on the upper male side, furthest from the door. Most *gdan* 'seats or cushions' were made of sheep wool and *phying ba* 'felt'. Behind the seat on the male side was a wooden cabinet inside of which were a *thang ga* of Rgyal ba rin po che His Holiness the Dalai Lama, ShAkya thub pa 'Shakyamuni', Sman bla 'Medicine Buddha', and 'Od dpag med 'Amitabha'. Many locals placed their *chos skyong srung ma* 'protective deity' and local deity *thang ga* here as well. *Mchod me* 'butter lamps' and other shrine articles were placed on or inside the cabinet. Along with these cabinets, *sgyo* 'sacks' of flour or *rtsam pa* were placed neatly on the upper and inside edge of the *sbra*. These sacks were covered with *phya ra* 'yak hair' or 'wool interwoven cloth'.

¹¹¹ A recitation from *Gzungs* 'to hold' 'maintain', a ritual speech similar to a mantra.

¹¹² *Rlung rta* 'wind horse', are pieces of thin rectangular paper printed with Buddhist scriptures; a horse in the center; and in each of the four corners one of the following - a garuda, a dragon, a tiger, or a lion. *Rlung rta* variants include *rlung rta* 'wind horse' and *klung rta* 'water horse' (Samten Karmay 2010:304). *Klung rta* = *klung* 'five elements' or 'space'; *rta* 'horse'. *Klung rta* represents the elements: the tiger represents wood; the lion, earth; the garuda, fire; the dragon, water; and the horse, wind (Nam mkha'i nor bu 1994:318). Tossing these papers into the wind while atop sacred mountains is thought to bring good fortune. In some areas, *rlung rta* means 'reputation' 'fortune'.

¹¹³ A Buddhist recitation for calling auspiciousness.

Photo 105. Butter lamp.



The female side featured cooking utensils, butter, *rtsam pa* containers, milk buckets, bowls, and vegetarian food. A small amount of meat was also placed on the female side while large pieces of fresh meat were placed on the male side. The women's side were considered to have *klu* 'water deities', which find fresh meat unacceptable. Putting a large amount of meat there was avoided in order to not bring bad fortune to the family.

Behind the *sbra* was a *bsang khri* 'platform for burning *bsang*' made from stones and adobe. It was built on a hilltop or a hillside higher than the tent. A *dar shing* 'flag pole' five or six meters tall, from which prayer flags fluttered, was raised near the *bsang khri*.

Photo 106. *Bsang* on a *bsang* platform.



Photo 107. *Bsang khri* on the corner of a wall.



Photo 108. A plate that in the past was used to burn *bsang*.



A *sbra* was usually pitched fronting a spring or river to invite wealth and happiness.¹¹⁴ Sites facing a cliff or rocky mountain were avoided because they obstructed good fortune. A good *sbra* is resistant to water, snow, and wind for years. A *sbra* resembling a tortoise also protected against earthquakes and floods. This belief is related to the local idea that a tortoise can live up to 500 years, thus symbolizing longevity and good fortune.

¹¹⁴ Refers to *rten 'brel*, which in this context, accords with the translation 'fortune' (Sa mtsho skyid and Roche 2011:240).

The lyrics of a local *glu* 'folksong' sung by Lha sgron depict a tent's ideal location:

¹ སྤུའི་ཕུག་ཚན་དབུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་ལ་འབྱེན།

² ཚེས་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།

¹ sbra'i phug chon dbus gtsang yul la 'then

² chos bstan pa dar ba'i rten 'brel yin

¹ The tent's innermost pole, pulled towards Dbus gtsang,

² Is a sign Buddhism will flourish.

³ སྤུའི་དགྱིལ་ཚན་གླིང་དཀར་ཡུལ་ལ་འབྱེན།

⁴ བྱ་དཔའ་ཅལ་རྒྱས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།

³ sbra'i dkyil chon gling dkar yul la 'then

⁴ bu dpa' rtsal rgyas pa'i rten 'brel yin

³ The tent's central pole, pulled toward Gling dkar,¹¹⁵

⁴ Is a sign that men will be courageous.

⁵ སྤུའི་སྒོ་ཚན་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་ལ་འབྱེན།

⁶ གསེང་མཛོད་ལ་ལེན་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།

⁵ sbra'i sgo chon rgya nag yul la 'then

⁶ gos mdzod la len pa'i rten 'brel yin

⁵ The tent's door-pole, pulled toward China,

⁶ Is a sign that fine clothes will be brought to the treasure house.

In a wedding oration performed by Gsang sgrog, the *sbra* is described as follows:

¹ དང་པོ་ཚས་རྒྱལ་རལ་པ་ཅན་པོ་བོད་དུ་བྱོན།

² རྒྱ་དཀར་ནག་གཉིས་ས་མཚམས་བྱེས།

³ སྤྲུག་པོའི་མཁོ་སྤྲ་དེ་ནས་དར།

¹¹⁵ A legendary Tibetan kingdom ruled by the mythic hero Ge sar. According to Thub bstan lhun grub, it was located in today's Mgo log Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province.

¹ dang po chos rgyal ral ba can po bod du byon

² rgya dkar nag gnyis sa mtshams phyed

³ sbra smug po'i mgo sbra de nas dar

³ First, King Ral pa arrived in Tibet,

² And established borders with India and China,

³ The black tent originated then.

⁴ ཡུག་ཆོན་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཆོངས་བས་འཐེན།

⁵ གངས་དཀར་རི་བོའི་འདབས་སུ་འཐེན།

⁶ དགུང་ཕྱོད་གཙམ་ལ་འཇུ་ཐག་འཐེན།

⁴ phug chon lha chen tshangs bas 'then

⁵ gangs dkar ri bo'i 'dabs su 'then

⁶ dgung sngon gnam la 'ju thag 'then

⁴ The innermost pole was pulled by Brahma,¹¹⁶

⁵ Pulled to the feet of snowy mountains,

⁶ Pulled the straps towards the sky.

⁷ སྒོ་ཆེན་དགུང་ཕྱོད་རྒྱུན་ནས་སྤྲད།

⁸ སེང་ཐང་དཀར་ཡག་གིས་སྐོང་བ་འཐེན།

⁹ དོག་མོས་གཞི་ལྷེ་བར་སྤྲད།

⁷ sgo chen dgung sngon rgyan nas sprad

⁸ seng thang dkar yag gis gong ba 'then

⁹ dog mo sa gzhi lte bar sprad

⁷ The sky-wide door was established,

⁸ The lion-like white eagle pulled the edges,

⁹ And the earth was made the foundation.

¹⁰ སྤྲ་བཞི་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་སྤེ་བཞིས་བཀྲགས།

¹¹ མཐུན་པ་སྤྲན་བཞིས་ཁ་གཡང་བོས།

¹² ཆོན་བཞི་ཕྱོགས་བཞིར་འཐེན་དེ་ཕུར་བཞི་སར་ལྷེ་བ་ནས།

¹³ དག་བཞི་ཕམ་པར་བཏང་།

¹¹⁶ Lha chen tshang ba.

¹⁰ gru bzhi rgyal chen sde bzhis bkyags
¹¹ mthun pa spun bzhis kha g.yang bos
¹² chon bzhi phyogs bzhir 'then de phur bzhi sar ldeb nas
¹³ dgra bzhi pham par btang

¹ The four great kings lifted the four corners,¹¹⁷
² The four harmonious brothers¹¹⁸ beckoned fortune,
³ The four poles were pulled in the four directions by four tent pegs,
⁴ And thus the four evils were defeated.

¹⁴ བྱི་སྒོ་ལྷ་ཤིང་སྐྱུ་པ་ཡིན།
¹⁵ རྒྱལ་ས་བླ་མ་ས་གཞི་ཁེ་བ་རྒྱ་ཡིན།
¹⁶ རང་སྒོ་ལྷ་ཤིང་སྐྱུ་པ་ཡིན།
¹⁷ བ་ཨ་ཁུ་འི་སྐྱུ་ཆ་བརྟན་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

¹⁴ phyi sgo lha shing shug pa yin
¹⁵ phyugs khra khras sa gzhi kheg rgyu yin
¹⁶ nang sgo lha shing stag pa yin
¹⁷ pha a khu'i sku tshe brtan rgyu yin

¹⁴ The outer door made of sacred juniper,
¹⁵ Allows the earth to be covered with variegated livestock,
¹⁶ The inner door made of sacred birchwood,
¹⁷ Allows the elders to live long.

¹⁸ ངོ་ཐོག་ཐམས་ཅད་དུལ་ཐག་ཡིན།
¹⁹ ཆ་རུ་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱུ་རུ་ཡིན།
²⁰ སྤྱི་ཡ་ལག་ན་ཕོ་འདོམ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཡོད།
²¹ རྒྱ་ཤ་རས་རྟ་རྒྱལ་ས་བྱེད་ས་ཡོད།
²² རྟ་རྒྱལ་ས་ན་རྟིང་མ་ལེན་ས་ཡོད།

¹¹⁷ The four great guardians of the four directions are Dhritarastra (Yul 'khor bsrungs) of the east, Virudhaka ('Phags skyes po) of the south, Virupaksha (Spyan mi bsang) of the west, and Vaishravana (Rnam thos sras) of the north (<http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=159>, accessed 13 April 2013).

¹¹⁸ The four brothers of harmony refer to a bird, rabbit, monkey, and an elephant who lived peacefully together.

¹⁸ ngo thig thams cad dngul thag yin
¹⁹ cha ru thams cad byu ru yin
²⁰ sbra'i ya lag na pho 'dom bzhi brgya yod
²¹ stag sha ras rta rgyugs byed sa yod
²² rta rgyugs na rting ma len sa yod

¹⁸ The *ngo thig* are made of silver,
¹⁹ The rope pegs are made of coral,
²⁰ The upper part is 400 men's armspans long,
²¹ Is adequate space for young men to hold a horse race,
²² And if horses are raced, there is enough room to attain victory.

²³ སྤུའི་མ་ལག་ན་མོ་འདྲམ་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ཡོད།
²⁴ མ་བུ་མོས་སྤྱ་ལེན་བྱེད་ས་ཡོད།
²⁵ སྤྱ་བྲང་ན་གར་ཡང་འཁྲལ་ས་ཡོད།
²⁶ མཚམས་བཞི་ན་སྤྱེན་པོའི་མདའ་ར་ཡོད།
²⁷ མདའ་འཕང་ན་དཔའ་དར་ལེན་ས་ཡོད།

²³ sbra'i ma lag na mo 'dom dgu brgya yod
²⁴ ma bu mos glu len byed sa yod
²⁵ glu blang na gar yang 'khrab sa yod
²⁶ mtshams bzhi na skyen po'i mda' ra yod
²⁷ mda' 'phang na dpa' dar len sa yod

²³ The lower part of the tent is 900 women's armspans long,
²⁴ Is adequate space for women to sing,
²⁵ And if songs are sung, there is enough room to dance,
²⁶ It has archery ranges on the four sides,
²⁷ And if archery contests are held, there is enough room to attain victory.

The *Thang yig rnying ma*¹¹⁹ states that *sbra* were used for military camps; the *sgo dar* was used as a *dmag dar* 'military banner'; and aristocrats stayed in large *sbra*.

Locals compare the shape of a tent to a turtle, garuda, spider, and Mt. Meru.

Square white tents with symbols of the Bkra shis rtags rgyad 'the Eight Auspicious Symbols',¹²⁰ *khyung 'brug kha sprod*

¹¹⁹ The *Old Tang Book* or *Tang Annals* is a history of the Tang Dynasty, compiled in 945 by Liu Xu (887-946) (<http://tinyurl.com/l5zvqmr>, accessed 21 February 2015).

¹²⁰ The Eight Auspicious Symbols are a conch shell, lotus, wheel of the

'confrontation of a garuda and a dragon', and *rlung rta sde bzhi*,¹²¹ featuring the symbol of the sun and moon atop the tent, were only used for *rin po che* and *bla ma*.

The bride's or groom's family provided a small new *sbra* for newlyweds, who stayed near the parents' *sbra*. The new *sbra* was called *ras mtshes* 'tent twin'. If two families were relatives or shared the same lineage, it was also called *sbra sgo gcig* 'same tent door'.

In addition to black goat and yak-hair tents, some locals lived in Mongol *gur* 'yurt' as recently as 1998. A *gur* was traditionally covered with felt. Processing felt was more difficult than processing coarse yak-hair used for *sbra* and was done during warm weather. Sheep were shorn, thorns and droppings from the wool were removed by hand, the wool was placed on the ground, and the wool was wetted. A smooth stick was rolled back and forth over the wool on the ground by one or two people as they sat. As the wool became dense, more was added. Locals counted the number of rolls in Mongol as they made the felt that would be used to cover the *gur*. In 2016, only a few people were able to count in Mongol. The wool needed to be rolled 500 to 600 times to make a piece of felt. The following is an example of counting in Mongol from Pa thos skyid (1918-2011) and Lha sgron:

¹ ཙ་ན་ནེ།

² ཙ་ན་འར་བ།

³ ཙ་ན་རྩོ་ལ།

¹ Co na ne he

² Co na 'ar bu

³ Co na 'do lo

⁴ ཙ་རྩོ་རྩོ་ལ།

⁵ ཙ་རྩོ་ལ་ལ།

⁶ ཙ་རྩོ་ན་ལ།

⁷ ཙ་རྩོ་རྩོ་ལ།

Dharma, parasol, an endless knot, two fish, a banner of victory, and a treasure vase.

¹²¹ *Rlung rta* suggests 'reputation' 'fame'. *Sde bzhi* refers to the four creatures printed on a *rlung rta*. Some interpret these four symbols representing longevity, good health, power, and auspiciousness, respectively.

⁴'o rdo de shu

⁵'o rdo ye su

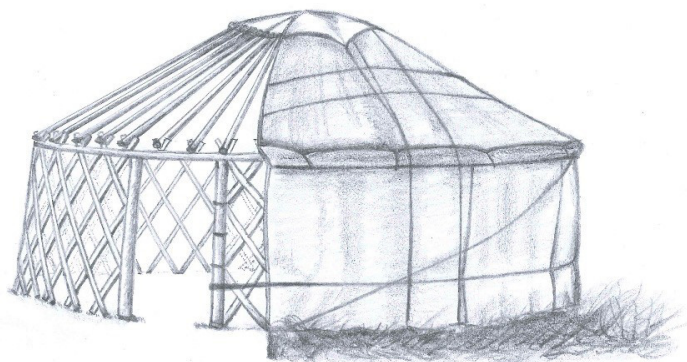
⁶'o rdo na me

⁷'o rdo ho yo

⁸'o rdo ne he

In 2016, locals said *ther me* 'wall section', *'u ni* 'roof poles', and *ha ra ci* 'skylight' for *gur* sections. These are Mongol terms. The yurt frame was covered with felt. Rich families had three layers of felt on their *gur* in winter while other families had only one layer. As in the black tent, an adobe stove was built inside the *gur*. Locations for pitching *gur* and the mode of living were the same as for a black tent.

Sketch 3. A *gur*.



An interview conducted in Bon skor Village, about yurts, follows (Wenchangjia with Stuart 2014:113):

I lived in a yurt. We had seven yurts until 1958. After that, there was social chaos and we lost the yurts. It took a lot of wood to make a yurt. Poplar wood isn't good for yurts. After 1958 many people came here and cut down all the trees. Also, before 1958 there were many carpenters and after that there were none. All the trees were gone so we couldn't make yurts.

Yurts are much better than tents. When you are in a yurt and it is windy, you just hear the wind blow. But when you are in a tent, you feel the wind blow.

We used these words to describe the parts of the yurt:

termi - wall sections

harach - skylight

une - roof poles¹²²

Prior to 1958, there were hundreds of *gur* in Bon skor village. The Gur Tribe was so called because it had the most *gur* among villagers. In 2015, there was not a single household that used a *gur*. A stored, badly decayed modern *gur* with non-felt fabric and metal *ther me*, 'u ni, and *ha ra ci* was stored in one household.

Sketch 4. A *gur*.

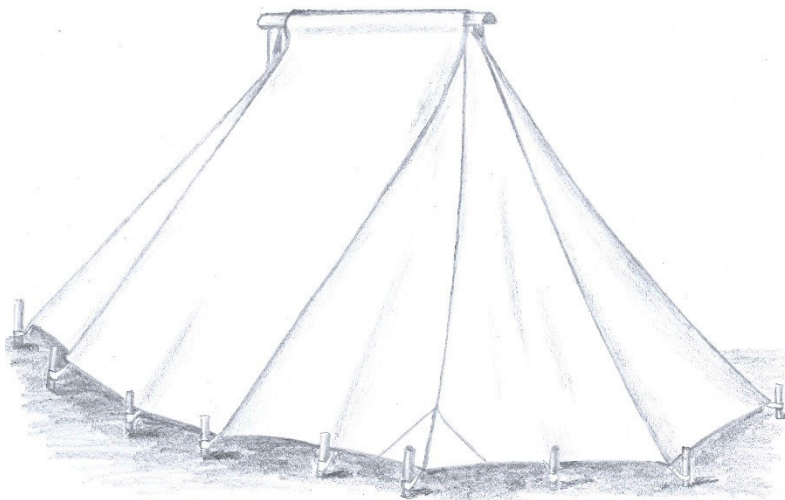


Ras gur were commonly used from May to September in herding areas in 2015. However, many families moved from the grassland to the farmland sites and lived in adobe or brick houses that are more resistant to water, wind, and snow than tents.

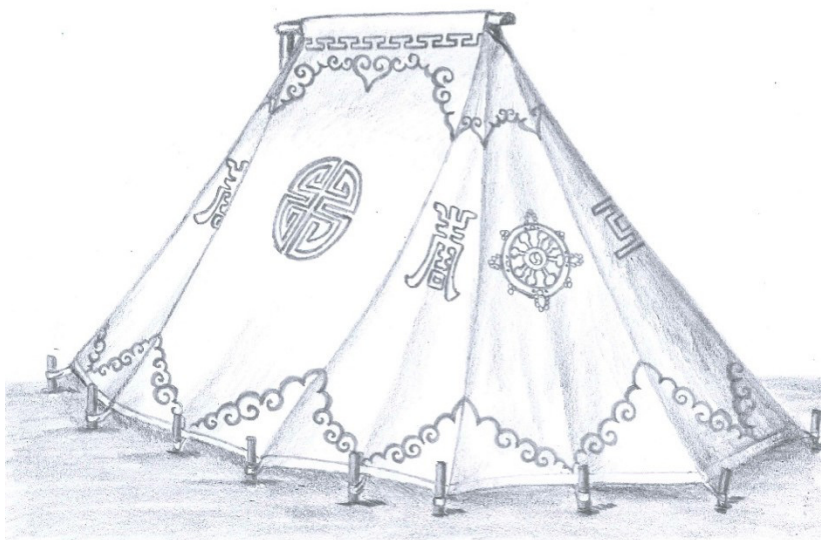
¹²² Juha Janhunen comments:

harach - skylight = /xarac/ < xaraac < *xaraaci* 'smoke hole in tent';
une - roof poles = /ün/ ~ /uny/ < *uni* 'roof pole'; *termi* - wall sections = /term/ < terem ~ *terme* 'wall section' < 'wall'. Moreover, these are specifically Western Mongolian/ Oirat words. Only *uni* 'roof pole' is widely used in other Mongolian dialects, while the other two concepts are expressed by the words *xan* < *xana* 'wall section' and *toon* < *toono* 'smoke hole'. The words used by Rin chen skyid are, however, well documented in, for example, the Oirat (Kalmuck) dictionary of GJ Ramstedt. As the Mongols of Mtsho sngon are all originally Oirat, it is understandable that they use Oirat words. (Wenchangjia with CK Stuart 2014:114).

Sketch 5. A common *ras gur*.



Sketch 6. A decorated *ras gur*.



In 2014, the local government provided one brick house per household in the Bon skor Village farming area. The government provided about 60,000 RMB per brick house with a contribution of 25,000-30,000 RMB required from each local household. Some locals could not afford this and stayed in their old adobe houses.

Photo 109. House construction in 2014.



Diagram 1. New housing designs provided by the local government.

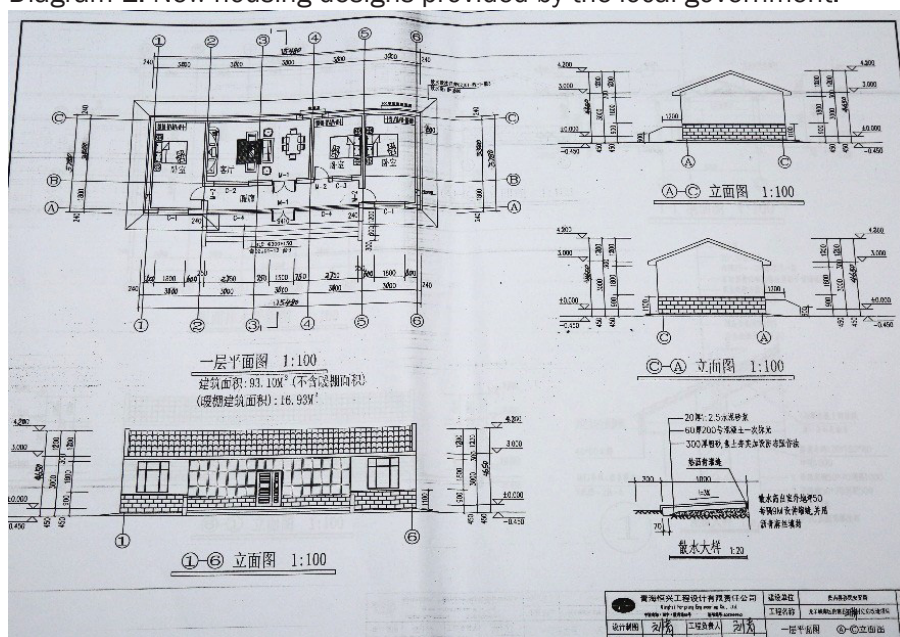
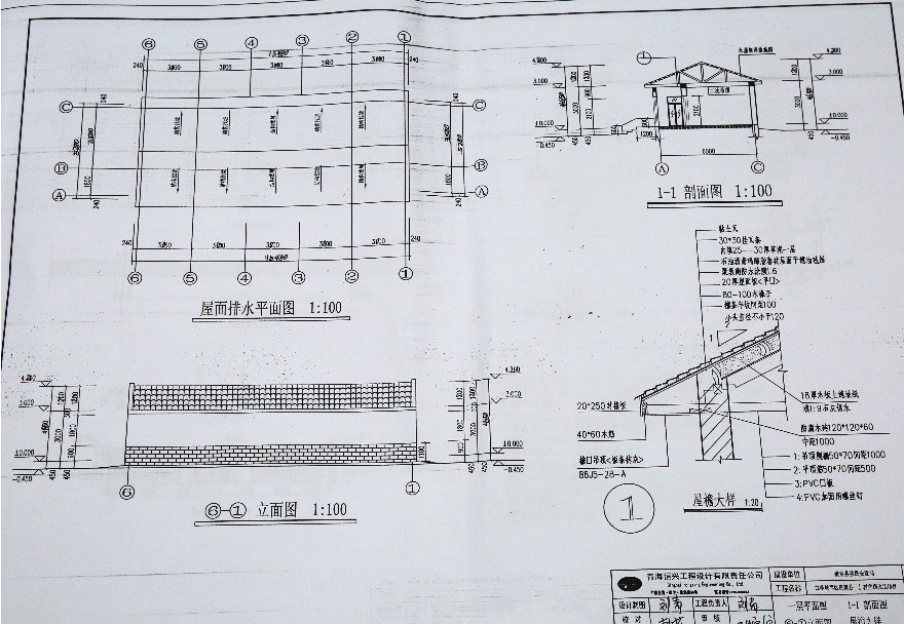


Diagram 2. New housing designs provided by the local government.



CLOTHING

Bon skor residents mostly wear *gos lwa* 'robes made of thin cloth or silk' in summer. *Phrug lwa* 'wool robes' are thicker than *gos lwa* and are also worn. *Phrug lwa* and *gos lwa* feature different decorations. Historically, *phrug lwa* were hemmed with about seven centimeters of beaver or otter skin. Collars were lined with leopard, tiger, or fox skin. Following an influential *bla ma*'s teachings on environmental protection, locals stopped wearing beaver and otter hemmed robes from about 2006. Robes were sometimes lined with *khu lang* and '*ja' drug*, which were made of soft red, yellow, blue, purple, or pink cloth. *Tshar lwa* and *slog pa* are made of sheepskin and goatskin. They were worn in winter in 2016. *Tshar lwa* is decorated in the same way as summer clothes, and sometimes worn under *gos lwa* in winter. Locals make these robes with skills learned from elders. Materials such as felt, sheepskin, and goatskin are available to most families. Some families who no longer herd livestock purchase such materials in Zi ling after resettling in the farming area.

Robes may be worn with such decorations as *byu ru* 'coral', *g.yu* 'turquoise', *ba so* 'ivory', *dmар gdan*, *dngul gyi ga'u*, *dung*, *glo gzur*, *bzho bzung*, *srung 'khor*, *me cha*, and *ral gri*. Descriptions and photographs of these items are provided in the following pages.

In 2016, only a few elders regularly wore traditional robes and decorations. Young people wore such clothes only during such special occasions as Lo sar 'New Year', wedding ceremonies, and archery contests. They wore modern clothes at other times. Many families have sold or lost most of their traditional ornaments.

DIVINATION

Locals consult *mo ba* 'fortune tellers', *bla ma*, and *sngags pa* for divinations. Some use prayer beads and some use *mo rde'u*¹²³ in fortune-telling. Locals might also use the divination book *Rab rno sum 'dzoms* (Chos bzang O dpal 2000:128). Many locals believe that a *mo ba* can judge positives and negatives and predict the future. If negatives such as accidents are predicted, the *mo ba* may advise chanting mantras or holding religious rituals to avoid difficulties. Many locals conduct divination, although some consider it nonsense. *Rtsis* 'fortune-telling based on Tibetan astrology' is favored, but rare because only *bla ma*, monks, or someone with proper training may conduct this divination. There are few such locals.

Photo 110. Prayer beads are used to make divinations.



¹²³ *Mo rde'u* are pebbles, wood dice, or sheep droppings.

Photo 111. Pebbles are used as *mo rde'u* for divination.



Photo 112. Handmade wood dice are used for divination.



Sog mo 'shoulder blades fortune-telling' is an increasingly rare method of divination. Local herders historically burned sheep or goat's *sog pa* 'shoulder blades' to divine. When a *sog pa* is burned or removed from the fire, all in attendance should be quiet. A family elder then examines the back and front sides to divine good and bad fortune.

- Black spots on the *sog pa* front side portend bad luck, but a ligament in this position is positive.
- A large front side shape indicates good fortune because it is a site of men and horses.
- The higher the middle bone the better, indicating the status of a person and a place of deities.
- Red spots on the blade predict a child will be born.
- A toothed *sog pa* edge means sons and horses will come.
- Black spots portend ominous events.
- A curved, crooked blade means the family will lose *g.yang* 'sacredness' 'fortune'. Therefore, locals conduct the ritual of calling sacredness or fortune.
- Black inside the *sog pa* is negative. White is positive. These colors indicate the family's future.
- Black on the back side of the *sog pa* is favorable.
- Zigzag cracks after burning is a good portent, symbolizing a sheep's path. Straight cracks are negative.

A man from the family takes the shoulder blade near a neighbor's door, surreptitiously listens, notes the first thing he hears, and uses this information to further interpret signs on the shoulder blade.

After fortune-telling, the *sog pa* and other bones were put on mountains or high places – never with trash. Some locals wrote mantras on *sog pa* with black ink and put them on mountain and hill tops, hoping for good fortune.

As locals resettled near towns and no longer had livestock such activities became rare.

Photo 113. The back side of a *sog pa*.



Photo 114. The front side of a *sog pa*.



Photo 115. *Sog pa* bottom.



CONFLICT

Historically, serious conflicts resulted from robberies and killings. According to locals, stealing livestock was common in the early 1930s and often resulted in fighting to recover the livestock. Killing was unusual. Killing someone outside the village was a serious matter, as Lha sgron's account illustrates:

In the 1930s, a local villager unfortunately killed a farmer from Snang ra in Gcan tsha County in Bon po'i zhing kha. After some time, locals realized that this dead person was a relative of Snang ra'i dpon tshang 'Leader's Family of Snang ra'. Hundreds of people from Snang ra wanted revenge and started to our village from Gcan tsha County. At this point, the *dpon po* of Stong che Village, who had good relations with Bon skor, clashed with the Snang ra group at the midway point, leaving many dead and injured. The *dpon po* of Snang ra claimed *stong* 'a thousand' head of livestock from Bon skor for killing the farmer. This claim was later given to Stong che'i dpon tshang. For several years, many goats and sheep were annually given to this *dpon po* from each Bon skor household. The relationship between *dpon po* of Stong che Village and *dpon po* of Snang ra remains cold today.

Disputes over grazing rights increased after land division and the Returning Degraded Pasture to Grass Policy. Land division created a sense of personal ownership. If a neighbor's livestock wandered onto another family's property the land owner felt obliged to respond by appropriating or harming the trespassing livestock. Such events often initiated an increasingly violent cycle of retribution. In 2000 and 2001, the local village quarreled over land ownership with two neighboring villages that resulted in several serious injuries. Another dispute with a neighboring farming village occurred in 2002, but without physical confrontation. In 2003, Bon skor Village had a land dispute with Chos tsha Village, with many serious injuries. Thirteen Bon skor residents and thirteen Chos tsha residents were detained for fifteen days by the local police. Similar disputes happened in about 2009 with a neighbor village, and again in 2013 between another two villages resulting in five locals being hospitalized.

Another source of conflict is elopement, which has become more common since about 1998. Divorce rates have also increased. There are cases of married women eloping. In such instances, the family of the woman's husband brings a *gyod* 'law suit' against the family of the man who eloped. Usually, the man's family compensates to solve the conflict between the families by inviting local elders to be

gzu ba 'mediators'. A century ago, the family of the husband whose wife had eloped claimed *bag stong* 'bride compensation' or *stong 'jal ba* 'compensate a thousand' — compensation of a thousand head of livestock. Such demands were usually for horses, sheep, silver, and cash. In 2016, such cases were solved with payments of 3,000-20,000 RMB. Over time, village elders have reduced the amount to lessen the burden on the families involved.

NEW TECHNOLOGY

In 2016, Bon skor Tibetan Village households lived in clusters and many residents engaged in agro-pastoralism. Their daily lives were historically permeated with songs, rituals, ceremonies, and many other cultural activities. However, the loss of such cultural treasures as folksongs, orations, clothing, and traditional wedding ceremonies is accelerating as locals increasingly use radios, televisions, DVD/VCD players, and mobile phones, which are commonly referred to by their Chinese names. With children increasingly educated in the Chinese language and bombarded on every side by the notion that 'modern is best', there is little place for traditional songs. In 2016, many locals had phones (iPhone, Samsung, Oppo) with 3G service. Weibo and WeChat were popular. WeChat was the most popular software allowing illiterates to communicate voice messages and share photos and videos. In 2015, a broadband internet cable was provided to the farming area of Bon skor Community. Three internet speeds were made available: 600 RMB for browsing the internet and using WeChat; 900 RMB for watching online television; and 1,700 RMB for both, plus a new Huawei cellphone. The net result of this over time has been a break in transmission of traditions from older to younger generations. The latter find the traditional store of music less attractive compared to what they see on television and mobile devices. As a result, teenagers are generally unfamiliar with their parents' and grandparents' store of songs, proverbs, riddles, and jokes.

Traditions that are not practiced disappear. For example, as time passes, weddings in Bon skor Village have become dramatically abbreviated because people are 'too busy' and less interested in such rituals. In 2014, several families held weddings in restaurants in the local township town. Few wedding songs were sung. One or two large TV screens played DVDs and VCDs of Tibetan and Chinese performers, and were used by youths to sing karaoke.

Each year that a song is not sung increases the chance that it will never be heard again. Songs need to be sung to be remembered, but they are not sung unless there is an audience. Each time an aged tradition-bearer dies, their knowledge of songs, festival details, and so on goes with them. This is an irreversible cultural loss.

What will Tibetan culture be in two decades in such areas as Bon skor? Preserving traditional indigenous knowledge is crucial to ensure that future generations will be familiar with the culture of their forebears.

PART TWO

THE WEDDING

VOICES

INTRODUCTION

In this section, five Bon skor residents summarize their marriage experiences. The first account illustrates how Lha sgron's husband treated her and her children after he left to live with his lover. After several years, he returned home and stayed with Lha sgron and their children.

The second account explains how Don grub's marriage was mandated by his parents, and the divorce that soon followed. Afterwards, he found a woman on his own and married her. They had a child together. Four years after marriage they divorced.

The third account tells how Pad ma skyid left school and married a local Tibetan teacher. Unable to give birth, she eloped with another man and did not return home for about two years until 2011. Later, she married the man she had eloped with.

The fourth account reveals another form of marriage in the local village: fatherless 'Brug thar rgyal was forced to leave school. He was then sent as a bridegroom to the home of a young woman chosen by his relatives. Though he wanted to continue schooling, he had no choice.

The fifth account describes Bod pu de's first fiancée committing suicide while he was incarcerated for illegal logging. When he returned home, he married, but later divorced. They had had four children. He was single in 2016.

VOICE ONE: LHA SGRON (B. 1946)

I was eighteen when I married Gsang sgrog (b. 1945). We were both from Bon skor Village, but from different tribes. The village was in the former location at that time. I herded sheep. When I returned home one day, my parents told me that a family was asking for me as a bride. "Today, a matchmaker came and negotiated the whole day. Finally we agreed, and you will be sent to the Sma ra Tribe," they announced. I was both surprised and excited. Everyone says that becoming a bride is the greatest thing in a woman's life. Only later did I realize that my intended husband was from my village. In fact I had seen him once.

THE WEDDING CEREMONY

It was summer. My family and Gsang sgrog's family arranged the *bag ston* 'bride festivity' or 'wedding ceremony'. I was very excited about

the clothes the groom's family had provided. At that time, otter skin was a precious treasure. There was about forty centimeters of otter skin trim on my cloth robe. As the wedding approached, Mother instructed me on how to be a good bride in the groom's home and told me to be very polite with the groom's relatives.

Early on the morning of the wedding day, my uncles escorted me on horseback to the groom's family's tent. When we reached our destination, I was sent to another tent to stay with two girls, while my uncles stayed in another big tent where the wedding ceremony was held. I couldn't observe the wedding ceremony because I was confined to the tent with those two girls, but I heard the songs being sung in the other tent. I heard two familiar songs:

Song One

1 ང་དགུང་ཨ་སྟོན་ཆང་གི་སྟོན་མོ་ཡིན།
2 ངས་འབྲུག་པོ་ཆུང་སྟོན་མོར་བོས་ནས་ཡོད།
3 འདི་བོས་ནས་མི་ཆད་ཐོན་ནས་ཡོད།
4 ངས་ཆར་བེམ་མ་ཞིག་གིས་བསུ་མ་བྱེད།

1 nga dgung a sngon tshang gi ston mo yin
2 ngas 'brug pho chung ston mor bos nas yod
3 'di bos nas mi tshad thon nas yod
4 ngas char zim ma zhig gis bsu ma byed

1 I am this Azure Sky Family's banquet,
2 I invited the young dragon to the banquet,
3 Now he has been invited and arrived,
4 I welcome him with light rain.

5 ང་རྩ་ཁྲ་ཡག་ཆང་གི་སྟོན་མོ་ཡིན།
6 ངས་འབྲོང་བྲེ་ལོ་སྟོན་མོར་བོས་ནས་ཡོད།
7 འདི་བོས་ནས་མི་ཆད་ཐོན་ནས་ཡོད།
8 ངས་ན་མེ་ཏོག་ཞིག་གིས་བསུ་མ་བྱེད།

5 nga rdza khra yag tshang gi ston mo yin
6 ngas 'brong bre lo ston mor bos nas yin
7 'di bos nas mi tshad thon nas yod
8 ngas na me tog zhig gis bsu ma byed

⁵ I am this Fine Rocky Mountain Family's banquet,
⁶ I invited the nose-ringed yak to the banquet,
⁷ Now it has been invited and arrived,
⁸ I welcome it with a flowery meadow.

⁹ ང་བྱིམ་གནས་ཚང་ཚང་གི་སྟོན་མོ་ཡིན།
¹⁰ ངས་ནང་སྡེ་ཚྭ་སྟོན་མོ་ལ་བོས་ནས་ཡོད།
¹¹ འདི་བོས་ནས་མི་ཚད་ཐོན་ནས་ཡོད།
¹² ངས་སྤྱ་ཁར་ཁར་ཞིག་གིས་བསུ་མ་བྱེད།

⁹ nga khyim gnas tshang tshang gi ston mo yin
¹⁰ ngas nang sde tshogs khrom la bos nas yod
¹¹ 'di bos nas mi tshad thon nas yod
¹² ngas glu khar kher zhig gis bsu ma byed

⁹ I am this groom's family's wedding ceremony,
¹⁰ I invited all the villagers,
¹¹ Now they have been invited and arrived,
¹² I welcome them with a few songs.

Song Two

¹ སྟོད་ལ་བ་ཅེ་སྤྱག་པོ་འི་ཐོང་འག་ན།
² སྤྱག་ཤ་ར་དགུ་བརྒྱ་དགུ་སྟོང་ཡོད།
³ བོ་འུ་ཁྲ་རིང་མུ་མཁན་གང་མང་རེད།
⁴ དཔ་འུ་ཁེར་གཏུགས་བྱེད་མཁན་ཉུང་ཉུང་རེད།

¹ stod lab rtse smug po'i thong 'og na
² stag sha ra dgu brgya dgu stong yod
³ bo'u khra ring 'khur mkhan gang mang red
⁴ dpa' kher gtugs byed mkhan nyung nyung red

¹ Under the dark brown, upper *lab rtse*,
² There are 9,900 youths.
³ Though most carry long rifles,
⁴ Only a few are true heroes.

⁵ སྤྱ་མཐིང་སྤྱག་གན་གི་སྤྱ་འག་ན།
⁶ མ་སྤྱ་མོ་དགུ་བརྒྱ་དགུ་སྟོང་ཡོད།

7 དུ་གོར་མོ་བདག་པ་འདྲ་འདྲ་རེད།

8 བྱི་གནས་ཡུལ་འགྲིམ་མ་ཁན་ཁར་ཁེར་རེད།

5 sbra mthing smug gan gi thu 'og na

6 ma bu mo dgu brgya dgu stong yod

7 dung gor mo btags pa 'dra 'dra red

8 phyi gnas yul 'grim mkhan khar kher red

5 In that dark tent,

6 There are 9,900 girls.

7 Though their ornaments¹²⁴ are identical,

8 Only a few will go to be brides.

The two girls and I talked and later we became very good friends. When the *A zhang* 'the bride's male relatives' were returning home, they took me with them. At my natal home, I heard uncles say that there were many singers and plenty of meat, and that the wedding had gone very well.

RETURNING TO THE GROOM'S HOME TO STAY

Five days later, Uncle escorted me to the groom's home. Before leaving that same day he entrusted me to the groom's family and my husband. I was shy and speechless for the first few days because I was unfamiliar with most of the groom's family members. I was very homesick, but never mentioned it. Everyone was kind so I got along with them well. Besides, neighboring families and relatives invited me to chat and eat. In less than a month, I knew almost everyone who lived near my husband's home. By this time, I was doing most of the housework. Since there were hundreds of sheep, I sometimes helped my husband herd. As time passed, New Year approached and my husband promised to let me visit my natal home. I was excited because I really missed my family.

A NEW YEAR VISIT

On the third day of the New Year, my husband and I went home to visit my natal family. It was in frozen winter. Everything was gray and dull. Mother wept when I met her at the door because we had not met for a long while. We talked a lot. Mother had visibly aged. That was the time when sheep gave birth and I couldn't stay more than three

¹²⁴ A *dung gor* is a shell-shaped hair decoration women wear on the back of their robes.

days because I had to return to my husband's home to work.

A HORRIBLE EVENT

In 1958, all the villagers escaped to the Kye phur Mountains to hide. I heard gunfire almost every day. Uncle was the village leader and he was terribly sick that time.

When I heard that Uncle had died in prison, I became ill for a long time. There was no medicine and very little food. My husband and one of his relatives – a strong man – often secretly hunted in the mountains and brought us food. After several years, everything calmed down and we resettled in the village. I felt very lonely when Father never returned home and later passed away.

My husband was with me when I gave birth to my first son during the Cultural Revolution. Luckily, we were safe, though frightened. Some locals betrayed other people and destroyed local temples, religious scriptures, and *lab rtse*.

ANOTHER SHOCK

Time peacefully passed and I gave birth to five children. Shamefully, my husband found a lover nearby and lived with her. He sporadically returned once every month or two. He had two children with that woman, which terribly humiliated me, since all the locals knew about the stupid thing he was doing. This made my children and me shed tears almost every evening when we had supper. I asked my relatives and his relatives to solve the problem. However, my children would not let me divorce since they truly loved their father. He occasionally took them to that woman's home. They stayed there a while, but they had many conflicts with her children. My son once told me that when he was with his father at that woman's home, her children wanted to sit on his lap and did not let him sit. That woman also kicked my son.

When my son was twelve, he was forced to butcher a sheep because there was nobody else who could do it in our home. When he tried to catch the sheep, he was so small that it dragged him along the ground. At that time, my son sometimes held my youngest daughter and churned milk, even though he was so young. Although my husband rejected me and stayed with another woman, my son helped with the family work. My oldest son and I worked very hard. During that time, I had only hatred for that woman, but I no longer have such hatred now.

A PEACEFUL LIFE AGAIN

Later, without explanation, my husband returned home and stayed with me and my children. It has been years since he last stayed with

the other woman. I do not know why he returned, but I am sure that he missed his children. At that time, the village was about to move to our current location because the Yellow River had been dammed.

When my son was eighteen, he abducted a local girl to be his wife. He abducted her seven times, since the bride's family refused to negotiate. After a long time, we successfully negotiated and she became my son's wife. As the village was about to relocate, my husband and daughters moved to the mountains with the family livestock in the herding area, while my son and his wife went to the current village location to farm and build rooms. My son's wife soon gave birth to a son. After my husband returned and stayed with me, we had another two daughters and one son. Today, all my daughters and sons are married and have their own families. My husband and I live with my youngest son and occasionally with the oldest son.

VOICE TWO: DON GRUB (B. 1981)

Don grub is a local herdsman. To his surprise, at the age of seventeen, his parents arranged his marriage. He had never seen the girl before. He expressed surprise, but did not object.

THE WEDDING CEREMONY

All the neighboring families and relatives came to help with the wedding ceremony. They helped make dumplings, cook meat, and clean the rooms. In addition, mutton and drinks such as beer and liquor were offered at the ceremony.

There were about thirteen *A zhang* at the wedding ceremony, which took place in my home. Elders gave speeches and sang, which unfortunately I could hardly hear. A middle-aged *A zhang* called me over to hear the sash-tying speech. Wearing my *phrug*¹²⁵ robe I went over to the *A zhang* group to await their speech. Meanwhile, I was both nervous and shy since many people, including unfamiliar *A zhang*, were there. It took about half an hour for the *A zhang* to finish his speech. A group of my female relatives came in at that point and started singing songs that I knew because I often sang them while herding. I knew many songs and when the singers sang, I recognized the lyrics. For example, one song went:

¹ ཆང་འགོ་མ་འབྱུང་དུས་མཆོད་གསུམ་འཕེན།

² གནས་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་བཞོད་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ནས།

³ དབུས་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྟན་པའི་དབུ་རྒྱན་མཆོད།

¹²⁵ Wool material for making a Tibetan robe.

¹chang 'go ma 'thung dus mchod gsum 'phen
²gnas shar phyogs bkod pa'i zhing khams nas
³dbus sangs rgyas bstan pa'i dbu rgyan mchod

¹Offer thrice at the beginning of drinking liquor.¹²⁶

²In the Buddha field¹²⁷ in the East,

³For the crown of the Buddhist Teachings in the Central Tibet.¹²⁸

4 ཆང་བར་མ་འབྲུང་དུས་མཆོད་གསུམ་འཕེན།

5 ཡུལ་ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་དུང་གི་སྒོ་མང་ནས།

6 ལྷག་ཤ་རེ་རྒྱང་རྟ་སྡེ་བཞི་མཆོད།

4 chang bar ma 'thung dus mchod gsum 'phen

5 yul nub phyogs dung gi sgo mang nas

6 stag sha ra'i rlung rta sde bzhi mchod

4 Offer thrice in the middle of drinking liquor.

5 At the conch-covered doors in the west,

6 For the four classes of *rlung rta* of young men.

7 ཆང་མཐའ་མ་འབྲུང་དུས་མཆོད་གསུམ་འཕེན།

8 ས་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་འོ་མའི་མཚོ་ཁ་ནས།

9 མ་སྤུ་མོའི་ཟས་ལྟ་རང་འབྲུབ་མཆོད།

7 chang mtha' ma 'thung dus mchod gsum 'phen

8 sa byang phyogs 'o ma'i mtsho kha nas

9 ma sru mo'i zas lha rang 'grub mchod

7 Offer thrice at the end of drinking liquor.

8 At the Lake of Milk in the north,

9 Make offerings to the self-created deities of food of *ma sru*.

¹²⁶ Refers to *chang*, which locals historically distilled from barley. However, in 2014, no locals whom I interviewed said that they knew how to make *chang*. *Chang*, as used here, refers to barley liquor that locals buy from local shops. Most local barley wines are produced from Qinghai Huzhu Barley Wine Ltd.

¹²⁷ General name for places where the Buddha gave teachings.

¹²⁸ Dbus refers to one of two traditional regions in Central Tibet with the other being Gtsang.

The *A zhang* and bride left in the afternoon. As soon as the *A zhang* were gone, I felt relieved because I no longer needed to wait on nor impress them. After their departure, I thought that the girl must be fine, since the family was reputable. Happily, I called my friends to come and drink with me. That was the happiest night of drinking for me. After we got drunk, we took some girls to a friend's house and sang love songs with them.

A BRIDE FOR A FEW DAYS

Several days later, the bride's father escorted her to my home. At first she was too shy to look at any of my family members but, later when she did, I was shocked to realize that she was very plain. The bride's father returned home as evening approached. A room had been prepared for my wife and I to sleep in. She had an odd personality that sometimes made me feel stupid. I never liked her, starting from that night. The next day, I privately told Father that I didn't want to be with her because of her odd personality. He just scolded me. I was so angry that I did not eat supper the next night. For three to four days, I repeatedly talked about this to my parents. Five days later, I swore I would run away if she stayed as my wife. Father then sent her back to her home and negotiated a divorce. Finally the matter was settled: the bride's family took all the bride's clothes and some cash, including the bridewealth/ dowry. In total, it came to about 30,000 RMB. Afterwards, my family swore never to arrange another wedding for me.

ANOTHER MARRIAGE

After a couple of years, I fell in love with a pretty local girl. After about a year her family members realized I was her boyfriend and, gradually, I moved into their home without a wedding. My parents scolded me for moving into her home. About a year later, Father wanted us to live in his home. The girl's parents resisted for a while, but finally agreed. They took 1,000 RMB as bridewealth and both my family and hers helped us build a courtyard and a house where we could live separately from my family. Eventually, we had a wedding after our house was completed. It was a simple wedding with only a few *A zhang* and guests in attendance. Everything went smoothly.

ANOTHER LIFE TRANSITION

It was my responsibility to manage my new family. I was tired of herding sheep. Instead, I was interested in driving. I bought a car and even though I had no driver's license, I drove villagers to Mgo mang Township and other places. My wife tended our domestic animals

while I drove. I met many people and my ideas about earning income changed. I gave most of the money I earned to my wife, but instead of saving it, she gave most of it to her family. She became pregnant about four years later and continued to give money to her family. Many of her friends and relatives gossiped that my wife had lovers and was spending money on them. I then decided to divorce her and asked Father to solve the problem. My wife's family agreed and we divorced. I am now tired of marriage and won't find another wife. I am planning to ask a friend who is a poet, to write a poem describing how meaningless marriage is.

VOICE THREE: PAD MA SKYID (B. 1982)

Pad ma skyid's brother sent her to Khri kha County Junior Middle School, which no locals had ever attended before. Although it was expensive, he insisted on paying her tuition and other schooling expenses, because he respected and supported students. One day, however, Pad ma skyid stayed with a man in Mgo mang Town and did not return home. It seemed he had abducted her. One day before she returned home, matchmakers visited, but were rejected by her father and by other family members.

On the following day, one matchmaker escorted Pad ma skyid back home with some new robes and ornaments that the youth's family had prepared. When her parents asked her if she really wanted to live in that home as a bride, she said she was willing and had agreed to do so. Pad ma skyid then stopped her schooling.

THE WEDDING CEREMONY

Early one morning on the third day of the New Year period, four *A zhang* plus Pad ma skyid went to the groom's home in a jeep. They had a simple, cheerful wedding. Many singers came from the groom's village and sang. In the *A zhang* group, there were only two singers, but they had a seemingly inexhaustible store of songs. Pad ma skyid stayed at the groom's home after the *A zhang* left. A week or so later, she returned to her natal home for several days.

AFTER THE WEDDING

Pad ma skyid's husband was a teacher. Being a teacher was considered a good job, and her parents were proud of their daughter's marriage. Pad ma skyid's husband soon bought a house in Mgo mang Town where they lived happily. Pad ma skyid controlled her husband's teaching salary, saving most of it and spending little. Her husband sometimes wanted money to go out with his colleagues to parties and gatherings, but she did not give him money for such

things. Conflict ensued. Additional problems were caused by the fact that after becoming pregnant once and experiencing a stillbirth, Pad ma skyid did not conceive again.

Later, without her husband's knowledge, Pad ma skyid took a lover. She was at home while her husband was at work, and had much time to be outside the home, which is how she met her lover. They eventually ran away, though they did not go far. Her brother found them and beat the man, who was hospitalized.

Pad ma skyid was in a difficult situation. She no longer cared about her husband, but still took his money. When her family tried to solve the problem her husband took her back, ignoring her previous behavior. For most locals, once a wife runs away, her husband will not take her back and will also request compensation from his wife's family.

Most people said that Pad ma skyid's husband was foolish to air his private life in public when he drank, which is why Pad ma skyid limited his spending.

DIVORCE

After three years, Pad ma skyid found another lover, an unemployed herdsman. She went to live with him and divorced her husband.

VOICE FOUR: 'BRUG THAR RGYAL (B. 1987)

I am fatherless. I attended primary school but didn't finish because my uncle wanted me to move to another home and live there as a bridegroom. I loved school, but Uncle was the only person who looked after my mother and family. I respected him as my father and had to obey him. When I was seventeen, two matchmakers came to my home and asked me to marry Gu bha's daughter, Lcags mo byams (b. 1987). At first, Uncle refused, however, after three rounds of negotiation, the matchmakers were successful. Uncle asked for 500 RMB as the groom's price. They asked me to agree, and reluctantly did so. I had been promised and also, my family was poor while hers was better off and had a good reputation.

THE WEDDING DAY AND NIGHT

Just after the New Year, Uncle and another relative accompanied me to the bride's home for a simple *mag ston* 'bridegroom festivity' or 'wedding ceremony' with about thirty guests. Uncle gave a short speech, though he was not an eloquent speaker. He entrusted me to the bride's home. I was with Uncle and other relatives in the same house and wrapped my face in my robe sleeves just like a shy new

bride. It was a short winter day. After some tea, a group of about fifteen women entered the room and began asking for *chu dar*.¹²⁹ Uncle soon gave them the *chu dar*.

*CHU DAR ARGUMENT*¹³⁰

མ་སྤྱ། ¹ཡ་ད། ²ངས་གྲལ་མགོ་སྒོར་ནས་ཚུ་ཞིག་མཆོད། ³གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྒོན་མོའི་ཁ་ཚུ་ཡིན། ⁴དབྱར་ཆར་ཚུ་
འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན། ⁵ངས་གྲལ་སྒོད་སྒོར་ནས་ཚུ་ཞིག་མཆོད། ⁶མེད་གོ་དཀར་མོའི་ལོ་མ་ཡིན། ⁷གངས་
ནམ་མཁར་ཐུག་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན། ⁸ངས་གྲལ་རྩ་སྒོར་ནས་ཚུ་ཞིག་མཆོད། ⁹འཇིག་རྟེན་མགོན་པོའི་རྟེན་
འབྲེལ་ཡིན། ¹⁰བདག་གཞི་མགོན་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།

ma sru ¹ya da ²ngas gral mgo skor nas chu zhig mchod ³g.yu 'brug
sngon mo'i kha chu yin ⁴dbyar char chu 'dzoms pa'i rten 'brel yin
⁵ngas gral sked skor nas chu zhig mchod ⁶seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma yin
⁷gangs nam mkhar thug pa'i rten 'brel yin ⁸ngas gral rnga skor nas
chu zhig mchod ⁹'jig rten mgon po'i rten 'brel yin ¹⁰bdag gzhi mgon
'dzoms pa'i rten 'brel yin

Ma sru: ¹Ya, now, ²I offer water to the upper row. ³It is the saliva of a blue dragon, ⁴and is the sign of plenteous summer rain. ⁵I offer water to the middle row. ⁶It is white lion's milk, ⁷and represents snow touching the sky. ⁸I offer water to the lower row. ⁹It represents the Savior of the World,¹³¹ ¹⁰and all the gathered guests.

¹ཡ་ད། གཉེན་ཚང་ཆར་ལ་མ་སྤྱ་ཚང་མས་སྒྲིབ་ཅིག་གཏོང། ²ཁོང་ཚོར་བོད་ཀྱི་མག་པའི་ཚུ་དར་དགོས་ཟེར་གི།
³སྒོད་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་ཐུག་ཅིག་དགོས། ⁴ཐུག་གཅིག་རུང་ཐིག་ལེ་མི་གཅིག་ནི་ཞིག་ ⁵སྒྲིབ་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་གོས་ཤིག་
དགོས། ⁶གོས་གཅིག་རུང་རི་མོ་མི་འདྲ་ནི་ཞིག་དགོས་ཟེར་གི། ⁷བར་བལ་བོའི་ཡུལ་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་རྩ་རར་ཁ་ལོ་
ཅན་ཞིག་ ⁸གོས་དཀར་པོ་ཁ་ཐེལ་ཅན་ཞིག་དགོས། ⁹དེད་ཆར་ཐག་རིང་རྩ་ཡིས་ཐོས་ནི་ཞིག་དགོས། ¹⁰ཐག་ཉི་
མིག་གིས་རིག་ནི་ཞིག་དགོས་ཟེར། ¹¹དེད་ཆར་ལ་ཁ་རྒན་ལ་ཟ་ལོ་བས་ཡོད། ¹²ལག་རྒན་ལ་ལེན་ལོ་བས་ཡོད།
¹³མ་བྱིན་དུས་བསྐྱར་ནི་མིན། ¹⁴བྱིན་བཏང་དུས་འཁོར་ནི་མིན། ¹⁵དེ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚུ་དར་སྤྱོད་ཚུ་ལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་གི།

¹²⁹ *Chu dar* is *phrug* or *kha btags* given by *A zhang* to the bride's family. This presentation is accompanied by argumentative and teasing speeches from the *A zhang* and *gnyen tshang* when the *mag pa* is sent to the bride's home. Similarly, *bu ras* is given to the groom's family when a bride is sent to the groom's family. Women from the bride's side ask for *chu dar* from the *A zhang*.

¹³⁰ Provided by Lha sgron.

¹³¹ An alternative name for the Buddha.

¹ ya da gnyen tshang tshang la ma sru tshang mas skad cig gtong
² khong tshor bod kyi mag pa'i chu dar dgos zer gi ³ stod nas yong ba'i
 phrug cig dgos ⁴ phrug gcig rung thig le mi gcig ni zhig ⁵ smad nas
 yong ba'i gos shig dgos ⁶ gos gcig rung ri mo mi 'dra ni zhig dgos zer gi
⁷ bar bal bo'i yul nas yong ba'i rta ra ra kha lo can zhig ⁸ gos dkar po
 kha thel can zhig dgos ⁹ nged tshang thag ring rna yis thos ni zhig
 dgos ¹⁰ thag nye mig gis rig ni zhig dgos zer ¹¹ nged tshang la kha rgan
 la za lobs yod ¹² lag rgan la len lobs yod ¹³ ma byin dus bskyur ni min
¹⁴ byin btang dus 'khong ni min ¹⁵ de bod kyi chu dar gtsong stsong yin
 zer gi

¹ Ya, now, I have something to say to the *gnyen tshang*.¹³² ² As they
 said, they need the bridegroom's *chu dar*. ³ They need a *phrug* from
 the upper region.¹³³ ⁴ Although it is the same (as what we have
 locally), the points (pattern on it) should not be the same. ⁵ They need
 cloth from the lower region (China). ⁶ Although the cloth is the same
 (as that we have locally), its patterns should be different. ⁷ A tamed
 horse from the central region (Nepal), ⁸ and hemmed white clothing
 are also needed. ⁹ We require (these gifts) that people from far away
 will hear about¹⁰ and that people from nearby can see. ¹¹ Our family
 has gotten used to eating with big mouths, ¹² and taking with big
 hands. ¹³ We never leave without getting what we want, ¹⁴ and are
 never dissatisfied with the *chu dar* we get. ¹⁵ This is the way the
 Tibetan bridegroom's *chu dar* should be requested.

གཉེན་ཚང་། ¹ ཡ་ད། དེ་རིང་ངས་གཉེན་ཚང་ཚང་གི་གྲུལ་ནས། ² ལྷ་ཐོད་ཁར་འཐེན་རྟེ། ³ ཨ་ཁང་ཚང་གི་
 མགོན་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་ནས། ⁴ རྩ་རྩེས་སྤྱ་འཕངས་རྟེ། ⁵ བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་བཤད། ⁶ བདག་གཞི་མགོན་གཉིས་
 གྱི་འདོད་པ་ལྟར་བྱ། ⁷ མ་སྤྱ་ཚང་གི་རེ་བ་བསྐྱད། ⁸ ངས་རིན་པ་ཅན་པོ་རུ་མ་ནས་བྲུངས་རྟེ་རྩ་བ་ཅན་པོ་རྩིབས་
 ནས་བཞག་ཟླ། ⁹ རིན་ཐང་གོང་ཚོད་རྩེས་ནས་བཤད། ¹⁰ བོད་གྱི་མག་པའི་རྒྱ་དར་ཟེར་བ་དེ་མ་སྤྱ་ཚང་གིས་ཅིག་
 སྤྱོད་དགོས་བ། ¹¹ ཨ་ཁང་ཚང་གིས་ཅིག་སྤྱོད་དགོས་བ་དེ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཆགས་པའི་དཔེ་རེད།

gnyen tshang ¹ ya da de ring ngas gnyen tshang tshang gi gral dkyil
 nas ² zhwa thod khar 'then te ³ a zhang tshang gi mgron gyi sngun nas
⁴ rdzu rjes su 'phangs te ⁵ bod kha ba can gyi rten 'brel bshad ⁶ bdag
 gzhi mgron gnyis kyi 'dod pa ltar du ⁷ ma sru tshang gi re ba bskang
⁸ ngas rin pa can po rum nas blangs te rtsa ba can po rtsibs nas bzhag
 ste ⁹ rin thang gong tshod rjes nas bshad ¹⁰ bod kyi mag pa'i chu dar
 zer ba de ma sru tshang gis cig slong dgos ba ¹¹ a zhang tshang gis cig
 ster dgos ba de srid pa chags pa'i dpe red

¹³² The husband's relatives are collectively called *gnyen tshang*.

¹³³ In this context, this refers to Dbus gtsang

Gnyen tshang: ¹ *Ya*, now, today, from the middle row among the *gnyen tshang*, ² I hold back my hat from my forehead, ³ in front of *gnyen tshang* and guests. ⁴ I leave shyness behind, ⁵ to talk about our Tibetan *rten 'brel*,¹³⁴ ⁶ in accordance with our guests' wish, ⁷ I will fulfill the *ma sru* group's wish. ⁸ I take things of great value from my robe, and put valuable things by them. ⁹ We will discuss the price of it later. ¹⁰ The Tibetan bridegroom's *chu dar* should be requested by the *ma sru* group, ¹¹ and the *A zhang* should give it to them. This has been our tradition for generations.

¹ འཇིག་ལག་གི་ཁ་བརྟགས་དཀར་པོ་འདི་ཁྱེས་ཅི་ཆེན་མགོ་ནས་འཐེན་ན་ཅི་ཆུང་མགོ་ནས་རུང་ར་ཉན། ² ཁ་ལས་མེ་ཁྱེ་འབར་འབར་བྱེད། ³ སྒྲིང་ཆུ་ཆེན་ཁ་ནས་འཐེན་ན་ཟམ་ཆེན་ཉན། ⁴ རུང་ར་རྟ་རྟོན་རྒྱུགས་རྒྱུགས་བྱེད། ⁵ མགོ་གསེར་རྟོག་ཅན་གྱི་སྒྲིང་ནས་སྤྱི་གཙུག་བསྟན་སྟུང་ཉན། ⁶ མགོ་གསེར་ལྷ་ཅན་གྱི་འདུན་ནས་སྤྱབས་འཇུག་ལྷ་སྟུང་ཉན། ⁷ རྟོག་ཐོབ་ཐང་ཅན་གྱི་སྒྲིང་ནས་སྤྱིང་སྟུག་བཤད་སྟུང་ཉན། ⁸ འདི་ཅིན་པ་མེད་རུང་ཅིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཡི་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། ⁹ ཕྱི་ནང་མེད་རུང་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། ¹⁰ ཁས་རྒྱག་མ་བྱེད་ཁ་ལོག་ཡོད། ¹¹ འགའ་སྤུས་མ་བྱེད་འགའ་བ་ཡོད། ¹² ཡང་བྱེད་ཆོས་ངོ་ཆ་མེད་པར་བྱིན་ཟེར་ན་བྱིན་བརྟན་ནི་ཡིན།

¹ nga'i lag gi kha btags dkar po 'di khyos ri chen mgo nas 'then na ri chung mgo nas ru dar nyan ² kha las me lce 'bar 'bar byed ³ smad chu chen kha nas 'then na zam chen nyan ⁴ rlung rta rta rgod rgyugs rgyugs byed ⁵ mgo gser tog can gyi sgar nas sbyi gtsug bstad spyad nyan ⁶ mgo gser zhwa can gyi 'dun nas skyabs 'jug zhu spyad nyan ⁷ tog thob thang can gyi sngun nas skyid sdug bshad spyad nyan ⁸ 'di rin pa med rung rin po che yi rgyu yin ⁹ phyi nang med rung byin rlabs che ba'i rgyu yin ¹⁰ khas rgyag ma byed kha log yong ¹¹ 'gab sdus ma byed 'gal ba yong ¹² ya da khyed tshos ngo tsha med par byin zer na byin btang ni yin

¹ If you unfold this white *kha btags* in my hand from a high mountain peak, it can be a *ru dar*¹³⁵ of the small mountains. ² Your fortune will be like blazing flames. ³ If you unfold this by a huge river, it will become a giant bridge. ⁴ Your *rlung rta* will go like a racing horse. ⁵ It will make the monastery's golden roof ornament. ⁶ It can be used for taking refuge in golden-hatted *bla ma*. ⁷ It can be used for telling the joys and sorrows of life in front of a decorated high-ranking leader. ⁸ Even though it doesn't have a price, it has great value. ⁹ Even though it doesn't have an inside or outside, it is the thing with great blessing

¹³⁴ Interconnection of auspiciousness.

¹³⁵ Strips of cloth or silk locals put atop mountains to mark a village's borders. It was originally taken by Tibetan soldiers across mountains after conquering a place, and put on mountaintops as a territorial marker.

power. ¹⁰ Do not denigrate it. ¹¹ Do not dirty it or receive misfortunes.
¹² *Ya*, now, if you have asked for it without shame, I will give it to you here.

མ་སྤྱ། ¹ བོད་ཀྱི་ཆུ་དར་ཟེར་བ་དེ་གོས་དཀར་ཁྲུ་འི་རིམ་བསྐྱིག་ནས་དགོས་ནི་རེད། ² མདོག་ཆེན་ཁ་མདོག་
 བཟེགས་ནས་དགོས་ཟེར། ³ དེས་མི་ཆོག་ཐོག་ལ་ཁ་བཏགས་ཤིག་དགོས་ཟེར། ⁴ དེ་ལྟ་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་བཀལ་ནི་ཞིག་
 དང་ལྟ་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་འཐག་ནི་ཞིག་དགོས་ཟེར། ⁵ བྱེད་ཚང་གི་ཁ་བཏགས་འདིར་དང་ཚང་གི་མིང་ཆོད་ཅིག་གྲང་
 མེད་གི།

ma sru ¹ bod kyi chu dar zer ba de gos dkar khra'i ri mo bsgrig nas
 dgos ni red ² mdog chen kha mdog brtsegs nas dgos zer ³ des mi chog
 thog la kha btags shig dgos zer ⁴ de lha mo brgya yis bkal ni zhig dang
 klu mo brgya yis 'thag ni zhig dgos zer ⁵ khyed tshang gi kha btags 'dir
 nged tshang gi ming tshod cig kyang med gi

Ma sru: ¹ The Tibetan *chu dar* should have many colorful cloth patterns, ² and the bright colors should be in layers. ³ It still needs a *kha btags* on it, ⁴ which was previously used by a hundred goddesses, and originally woven by a hundred female nagas. ⁵ This *kha btags* isn't worthy of my family's name.

ཨ་ཁང་། ¹ ཡ་ད། ངས་ཁ་བཏགས་འདི་བྱིན་ནས་མི་ཆོག་ཅིག་བསྟོད་དགོས་ཟེར། ² དང་པོ་དབུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་ནས་
 བྱེད་དེ་མཇུག་དར་ཡིན། ³ གཉིས་པ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་ནས་བྱེད་དེ་བྲིམས་དར་ཡིན། ⁴ གསུམ་པ་གངས་ཅན་བོད་ནས་
 དར་ཏེ་མག་པའི་ཆུ་དར་ཉན་ནི་ཡིན། ⁵ བྱེད་ཀྱིས་ལག་སྤྲིང་མ་ཁན་ཆོའི་ལག་ལ་འདི་ཞོག ⁶ ཁ་གངས་ནས་
 བརྒྱས་ན་མི་ཐེམ་ཞེས་ཤོད།

a zhang ¹ ya da ngas kha btags 'di byin nas mi chog cig bstod dgos zer
² dang po dbus gtsang yul nas bud de mjal dar yin ³ gnyis pa rgya nag
 yul nas bud de khirms dar yin ⁴ gsum pa gangs can bod nas dar te mag
 pa'i chu dar nyan ni yin ⁵ khyed kyis lag sring mkhan tsho'i lag la 'di
 zhog ⁶ kha gdangs nas bltas na mi them zhes shod

A zhang: ¹ *Ya*, now, it is said it is not enough to just give this *kha btags*, but we should also praise it. ² Firstly, it became *mjal dar*¹³⁶ that appeared in Dbus gtsang. ³ Secondly, it became *khirms dar*¹³⁷ that appeared in China. ⁴ Thirdly, it became the bridegroom's *chu dar* in the snowland of Tibet. ⁵ Give this to those who held out their

¹³⁶ 'Meeting silk' is usually yellow and offered when meeting *bla ma* and leaders.

¹³⁷ 'Law silk' are *kha btags* that locals traditionally give to political leaders.

hands. ⁶ Please say there is no more to those who only watch and do not hold out their hands.

མ་སྤྱ། ¹ཆུ་དར་ཟེར་བ་དེ་གསེར་སེར་པོ་དྲུང་ཙེ་སྒྲིག་ནས་དགོས། ²དངུལ་དཀར་པོ་སྤང་ལ་འཇུག་ནས་དགོས་
ཟེར། ³ཁ་བཤད་པ་བྱས་ནས་མི་སྒྲེར་ན་ལག་འབད་པ་བྱས་ཏེ་འབད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

ma sru ¹chu dar zer ba de gser ser po dung tse sgrig nas dgos ²dngul
dkar po srang la 'jal nas dgos zer ³kha bshad pa byas nas mi ster na
lag 'bad pa byas te 'bad rgyu yin.

Ma sru: ¹ Our *chu dar* should be for a stack of golden coins, ² and white silver weighed by a scale. ³ If our speech doesn't persuade you to give it, we will use physical force.

བར་བ། ¹ཡ་ད། དེ་རིང་ལུ་ཁ་ཆང་གཉིས་ཀར་ཉེ་བའི་ཉེ་ལམ་དང་ཆོང་བའི་ཤག་ལམ་ཡོད། ²ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་གིས་
ཡང་དེ་འདྲ་མ་བྱེད། ³ཆུ་དར་བྱིན་ཐོངས། ⁴མ་སྤྱ་ཆང་ཡང་སྒྲེར་བའི་ཆེན་པོ་མེད་རུང་བྱིན་པ་དེ་ལ་མ་འཁོར།

bar ba ¹ya da de ring 'u kha tshang gnyis kar nye ba'i nye lam dang
tshong ba'i shag lam yod ²a zhang tshang gis yang de 'dra ma byed
³chu dar byin thongs ⁴ma sru tshang yang ster bgyi chen po med
rung byin pa de la ma 'khong

Matchmaker: ¹ Ya, now, both of our families have set out to form a close tie of relationship and friendly road of trade. Therefore, ² A *zhang*, please do not be like that, ³ but instead give the *chu dar* to the *ma sru*. ⁴ And you the *ma sru*, although you cannot get much, please do not feel it's inadequate.

ཨ་ཞང་། ¹སྤྱིར་ཆུ་དར་ཞེ་ན་རི་ཆེན་གསུམ་ལ་ཁེབ་དཔོག་ནི་ཞིག་དང་ཆུ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ལ་ཟམ་དཔོག་ནི་ཞིག་ཡིན་
མོད། ²ཡིན་ནའང་། ³འདི་འཇིག་རྟེན་བོད་ལ་དཔེ་ཞིག་ཡོད་གིས་ནག་ཐང་ན་ལམ་ཞིག་ཡོད་གི། ⁴དེ་ཡིན་ན།
⁵འདི་ན་གོས་སྒྲེང་འོག་གསུམ་ཡོད། ⁶དེར་མ་སྤྱ་ཆང་ཁྲོ་མི་ཉན། ⁷དེ་མ་གཏོགས་ངས་དེ་རིང་རིན་པ་ཅན་ཞིག་
བྱིན་ཡོང་མ་ཐུབ་ཐལ།

a zhang ¹spyir chu dar zhe na ri chen gsum la kheb dpog ni zhig dang
chu chen zhig la zam dpog ni zhig yin mod ²yin na'ang ³'di 'jig rten
bod la dpe zhig yod gi sa nag thang na lam zhig yod gi ⁴de yin na ⁵'di
na gos gting 'og gsum yod ⁶der ma sru tshang khro mi nyan ⁷de ma
gtogs ngas de ring rin pa can zhig khyer yong ma thub thal

A zhang: ¹ In general, *chu dar* should be large enough to cover three

big mountains and to be a bridge over a big river. ² However, ³ we have a local Tibetan custom to follow and the earth has a road to follow. ⁴ As that's the case, ⁵ here are three layers of cloth for you as *chu dar*. ⁶ Please do not feel this is insufficient. ⁷ Except this, I am unable to bring anything of great worth.

As soon as the *chu dar* was given, another group of women came and sang to my uncle and relatives. Since the *A zhang* were a bit drunk, they responded enthusiastically and could not be subdued by my uncle and relatives.

When the sun was about to set, my uncles and other relatives returned home, but I stayed. I was shy, but the bride's father and all the family members, except my wife, talked to me. I had never seen her before; I had only heard about her. Time passed quickly and after dinner, a room was arranged for my wife and me. I was nervous the first time I entered the room. I didn't know what to say to my new wife. Nonetheless, we started talking and continued deep into the night. Finally, we slept together.

In the next few days, I was told to stay at my wife's home and not do any work. Guests came, and the whole family stayed at home. Sometimes they sang together, but I didn't join in.

RETURNING HOME

Eight days later, my wife and her father, and I visited my natal home. Her father rode a motorcycle with my wife behind him, while I rode another new motorcycle that my wife's family had bought for me as *mag rta* 'bridegroom's horse'. When we reached my home, my family had prepared a small party, called *bag 'bod* 'inviting the bride'.¹³⁸ We stayed at my home one day and then returned to my wife's home. We married in 2003 and my wife gave birth to our son in 2006. She is very kind to him and to me.

A DREAM CAME TRUE

I always regretted marrying because I wanted to study Tibetan. I took books with me to read when I was herding. In 2007, I got the idea of collecting local folksongs and proverbs, and then publishing a book. I held on to this dream for a year, during which I met many local elders and asked them to recite lyrics and proverbs. In the summer of 2008, I published a book with the support and assistance of several friends. Without them, my book, *Gangs 'dab kyi rang mdangs 'The Natural Expression of the Snowland'*, would never have been published.

¹³⁸ The husband's family asks the wife to visit his home, hence the name of the party.

VOICE FIVE: BOD PU DE (B. 1931)¹³⁹

Bod pu de lived alone in 2016. When he lived with his mother (his father died early) in Bon po'i zhing kha, he had a girlfriend named Lha res. They were kind to each other. In 1956, when they were both about to marry, Bod pu de was arrested by the government and convicted of logging in government forests. After Bod pu de was arrested, Lha res worried about him and finally committed suicide. Bod pu de stayed in jail for five years. During his incarceration, the 1958 revolution came and went. Life was again peaceful when he came home in 1961. In 1973 he married a local divorcee, 'Bum mtsho skyid. Bod pu de's family was very poor when he married. Other villagers collected sheep and cash to help him hold the wedding ceremony.

FAMILY CONFLICT

Eventually, he and his wife had three daughters and one son. As time passed, Bod pu de's short temper resulted in conflict with his wife. He often scolded her and their children. Neighboring families heard quarreling every morning and evening. After about twenty-eight years, his wife asked for some lumber and sheep from villagers and relatives so that she could separate from her husband. As soon as she separated, she became a nun. One of her daughters stayed with her while another married. The son became a monk. Bod pu de remained single afterwards.

In 2016, Bod pu de was in his early eighties. He was active, healthy, and often chanted scriptures. He had about forty sheep and goats and also received flour annually from the local government. One of the poorest villagers, he spent most of his time herding. He attributed his good health to a combination of vigorous herding activity and daily religious practice.

¹³⁹ Gsang sgrog.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE NORMS

Marriage usually takes place between different tribes. Locals define incest as marriage between any relatives. Sexual relationships within the same tribe are considered incestuous and are taboo. All marriages are monogamous.

Bon skor residents did not traditionally marry Han nor Hui (Chinese Muslims). In 2015, about three locals had Han spouses. No Hui were married to locals in 2015.

WEDDING SCHEDULE

Non-English terms used in this list are explained in the relevant sections.¹⁴⁰ The chronological activities listed here are normative accounts that are assumed to be part of a patrilocal marriage. Matrilocal and other forms of marriages are possible, in which case this list would show some variation.

- Seek a spouse
- Identify a spouse
- Couple's trial period begins
- Divination
- Research family lineage
- Finalize the choice of a spouse
- Groom's family prepares clothes for the bride
- Choose a matchmaker(s)
- First negotiation with the spouse's family
- Second negotiation
- Abduct the bride
- Return the bride to her parents
- Third negotiation follows abduction
- Bride's relatives gather and discuss
- Negotiation achieves agreement, liquor is offered to the deities,
- Chant *bsang* scripture
- Discuss the bride's clothes
- Agree on the bridewealth and dowry
- Set the wedding date
- Deal with rumors

¹⁴⁰ The wording in this list is more descriptive than the abbreviated section titles in the body of the text.

- The groom's family prepares for the wedding: slaughters sheep and yaks; purchases snacks; fries bread; prepares stuffed dumplings, vegetables, liquor, cigarettes, and soft drinks;
- Relatives, neighbors, and friends are invited
- The bride is instructed by her mother
- Bride's brother or cousin gives the hair speech as female relatives plait the bride's hair
- Wedding begins
- Bride leaves her home for the groom's home as her mother laments
- *G.yang 'bod* is chanted as the bride leaves her natal home
- Relatives and friends bring gifts to the bride's natal home
- *A zhang* escort the bride to the groom's home
- The groom's family welcome the bride and *A zhang*
- The bride and *A zhang* are greeted with songs
- The groom's family takes the *A zhang* into the home and welcomes them with food and liquor
- A representative of the groom's family gives a tea speech; the *A zhang* begin having tea
- A representative of the groom's family gives a liquor speech; the *A zhang* begin drinking liquor
- The bride's father gives a general speech
- Other *A zhang* give speeches
- *Ma sru* sing for the *A zhang*
- *A ma sru* gives a speech about receiving *bu ras* from the *A zhang*
- An *A zhang* gives a sash-tying speech to the bridegroom
- An *A zhang* gives the wedding oration
- Songs to enliven the banquet
- *A zhang* and *ma sru* sing antiphonal songs competitively
- The groom's family provides a farewell meal for the *A zhang*
- The bride laments as the *A zhang* depart
- The *A zhang* or bride's brothers comfort the bride
- The groom's family provides liquor to the *A zhang* before they leave
- The groom's female relatives accompany the bride in the *bag ras* 'bridal tent'
- Love songs are sung between *A zhang* and women from the *gnyen tshang* after the wedding
- The bride returns to her parents' home for a few days after spending several days at the groom's home

SPOUSE SELECTION

Before about 2002, most spouses were selected by parents at around the age of fourteen. Youths rarely had the right to choose their spouses. By 2016, the average age of spouses had increased to between sixteen and twenty.

Bon skor residents normally judge a prospective spouse in terms of their *khyim rgyud* 'lineage', *sha rus pa* 'patriline and matriline',¹⁴¹ *srung ma* 'guardian deity', how hardworking the prospective spouse is thought to be, and the spouse's age.

Lineage is key and is investigated by asking those familiar with the family, or information is acquired simply by hearsay. Lineage is traced back three to five generations. If all ancestors were hardworking and avoided wrongdoing, it is believed to be a suitable lineage. Additionally, the family's wealth is investigated – the wealthier the better.

Sha rus pa are important. Bones are traced patrilineally while flesh is traced matrilineally. People are asked and hearsay is noted regarding the family's *sha rus pa*. Those with *gseb dri* 'body odor' are believed to be unclean, a condition thought to arise from *sha rus pa*. In Bon skor Village, most residents do not have *gseb dri*, which manifests as a pungent odor that is easily detected, while some odors are not very noticeable unless the body is uncovered. People without *gseb dri* consider people with *gseb dri* to be biologically polluted, while locals with *gseb dri* do not consider themselves as such and become upset if they are belittled because they have this condition. Having both unclean bones and flesh is considered the worst possible condition. People with *gseb dri* generally marry people with *gseb dri*. There is little mixing between these two types, except when lovers disobey their family and tribe. Gsang sgrog gives the following account:

My youngest son had a lover from a tribe in our village that maternally has *gseb dri*. All my family members and relatives furiously opposed their romance over an eight year (2003-2011) period. About five years ago, I convinced him to find another girl with a clean background and marry her. I finally arranged a marriage which he agreed to. The wedding went successfully. However, after about ten days, he left his new bride and ran away with his former girlfriend who has *gseb dri*. We searched for a month and couldn't find them until the local police helped and found them herding to make a living in a remote area in Mgo log. We paid about 5,000 RMB as compensation to the bride he had deserted. About three years later, my son and the woman with

¹⁴¹ 'Bones' refers to the patriline while 'flesh' is a metaphor for the matriline.

gseb dri were still together. A new bride is essential to my family since my wife and I are old and can't do much work. Gradually, we had to accept his girlfriend, even though there is *gseb dri* in her family. In 2011, they were married. My relatives and even family members denigrate this marriage, but there is no other choice.

Srung ma is the most significant religious element in spouse selection. Each family is believed to be guarded by one to three *srung ma* and if the spouse's *srung ma* differs from their prospective partner's, they are reluctant to marry. When spouses are engaged, though their *srung ma* are different, the *gnyen tshang* family must be very careful to not upset the members of the marriage partner's family. It may bring misfortune. Sometimes *srung ma* brings good luck even though they are different, as long as the couple get along well and there are no disputes between the bride's and groom's relatives. Some *srung ma* are considered evil, while others are considered good, as demonstrated by this account by Lha sgron:

A new bride once came to a groom's home. After several days, the bride was alone at home doing housework. Early in the morning, she offered liquor in the offering bowls in the family shrine, and then she swept the shrine floor. As she was leaving, she realized that the offering bowls she had just filled were empty. She filled them again and left. She later visited the shrine and, to her surprise, the liquor was gone. She noticed a single-footed cat by the offering bowls drinking the liquor. She threw it into the stove, where it died. When she reported this to the groom's family, she was surprised to learn that the one-footed cat was the family's *srung ma* – The'u rang rkang gcig 'Single-foot Guardian Deity'. The groom's family was very upset and forced her to leave their home. She died in an accident soon after returning to her parents' home.

Srung ma in the area include Dpal ldan lha mo, Mgon po phyag drug, Mgon po zhal bzhi, Chos rgyal, Rnam sras, Lcam sring, Gza' khyab 'jug, and The'u rang. Local Bon followers venerate Ma gcig srid pa'i rgyal mo.

The bride's ability and willingness to work hard is assessed by directly asking her relatives and consulting locals familiar with the bride. If the families are neighbors and know each other well, the male's family members may go to the girl's home with the excuse of helping them or borrowing something and then carefully observe how the daughter does family chores. This plays a critical role in the spouse selection process, since locals depend on physical labor to survive.

Finally, matching the spouses' age is important. A girl older than the boy is considered unacceptable. The girl should be younger, or at least the same age as the boy.

Parents plan to find a spouse for their son or daughter in order to bring a new laborer to the home. Therefore, they encourage their child to marry between the ages of sixteen and twenty, so that the new member may begin contributing to the family.

Teenagers begin to be sexually active around the age of sixteen and earlier. Not sleeping at home is believed to be an honor for males; sleeping at home is considered shameful. Young men, therefore, look for partners and return home early in the morning before their family members rise. Confronting any female family members early in the morning, especially one's mother, is embarrassing. Youths then catch up on their sleep during the day while herding. To further explore this point, I chatted with my uncle Bsod nams (b. 1985). He gave me the following account of his sexual history:

Before I married, I went to visit girls about five times a week and sometimes every night. I occasionally had several girlfriends at the same time but mostly visited one. Men from our village visit girls at night. There were many occasions when I overslept at my girlfriend's home. It was very embarrassing if someone saw me in the morning returning from my girlfriend's home. People often spread rumors. It was even more embarrassing if I ran into my mother or sisters. This is the reason that I tried to return home before dawn. I was then very sleepy and tired during the day while working in the fields or herding. My brother and parents often scolded me for not working well during the daytime.

Once a spouse is chosen for the son, his father and brothers encourage him to sleep with the girl. Though he may have fallen in love with other girls, he reluctantly obeys. In extreme cases, youths who subject to such pressures may commit suicide. When a young man first goes to visit a girl, he climbs over the adobe courtyard wall, often four meters high, with the dog beater he has brought along to thwart the family watchdogs. After a girl turns fourteen or fifteen, she sleeps alone or in a room she does not share with her parents. This may be due to labor demands such as a need to guard livestock at night, or because a shared room is crowded. A girl sleeping alone also facilitates a boy's visit.

Boys often pursue girls who are above fifteen or sixteen. Girls often cherish their first love and reject others. Language skill is key in pursuing a girl. If a girl and boy meet while herding, they both tease each other, using various forms of language. Sexually suggestive jokes are occasionally made and love songs are sung. The boy tries to

skillfully express his intention to visit her at night. If the boy takes the girl's scarf or a finger ring before they separate, the boy confidently visits her that night. In most cases, the girl expects him to come. Sometimes, however, the girl does not want the boy to visit, though he may anyway. Rings or bracelets exchanged or gifted between girls and boys are cherished tokens of love.

Photo 116. Local houses within adobe courtyard walls in 2013.



If a young woman becomes pregnant before marriage, abortion is usually not considered. Locals believe abortion is a sin. In the 1970s, many local unmarried women had children. However, the numbers dropped after the One Child Policy was enforced in the late 1970s and early 1980s. With the One Child Policy, condoms were introduced to villagers through local clinics. However, many locals were reluctant to use them because many believed condoms prevented natural feelings. In contrast, the intrauterine contraceptive ring was increasingly used. In 2016, the intrauterine contraceptive ring was common. Girls as young as fourteen might be brought to a clinic by older female relatives for insertion of the rings. The family understood that the girl was, or probably would soon be, sexually active. Avoiding pregnancy at a young age for an unmarried girl or young woman was highly desirable.

According to local doctors, sexually transmitted diseases are common in Bon skor Village, however, women generally consult doctors only when their illness becomes serious.

By 2016, the tradition of arranged marriage was much less common than even a decade earlier. Convenient transportation means that some villagers now left the local area to do migrant labor, facilitating encounters with outsiders and new ideas. Furthermore, government marriage law was applied in the local area and locals can no longer force their children to marry whom and when the parents prefer. By 2016, local youths mostly chose their own spouses. No matter how a spouse is chosen, villagers are still insistent on the importance of family background, bones and flesh, *srung ma*, and work ethic.

Selecting a spouse from neighboring villages is more challenging than selecting one locally. Other Tibetan villages are far

away and thus forming relationships is difficult. Local young men used to think that if local girls slept with outsiders it humiliated them, that it stripped them of their pride because it is considered shameful when locals hear outsiders describe their experiences of sleeping with women in the other village. This has changed due to interaction between villages. Young men from Bon skor also now travel to visit girls in other villages.

A local Summer Festival, often referred to as Bayi in Chinese 'the first day of the eighth lunar month', provides an occasion for youths to find partners. All fifteen villages in the township assemble for three days at a grassland site one kilometer from the township town and five kilometers from Bon skor Village. The festival is held annually, although there are times the local government may cancel it. Festival participants dance and sing competitively. Prizes are awarded by the township government. Most villagers consider singing *la gzhas* 'love songs' the main attraction. Many groups gather and sing *la gzhas* competitively,¹⁴² providing an important opportunity to meet prospective spouses. Some locals recall that this festival started about two decades ago.

Many villagers join the crowd and listen to the singing, while relatives of the opposite sex of the singer avoid the group. Both males and females glance around the audience and, when they find someone they find attractive, they may sing *la gzhas* to them. When a male youth starts singing, he holds a *kha btags* in both hands and sways slowly and slightly back and forth. After finishing the song, he gives the *kha btags* to the girl who must respond or be embarrassed. The lyrics are usually romantic. When the singing ends, the youth pursues the girl and tries to become acquainted with her.

TRIAL PERIOD

A couple often sleeps together after forming a relationship. They inform their families if they think they are compatible. The boy only informs his brother, father, and other male relatives, while a girl only informs her female relatives. The family then investigates the girl's family condition, lineage, and the girl's work ethic. The family carefully asks questions and tries their best to not let non-relatives know what they are doing, because villagers easily become jealous and may interfere.

Another frustration occurs when other youths try to sleep with the girl when she is herding or alone at home. The youth who has chosen her as his future wife does his best to not miss a night of sleeping with her and makes her promise that she will be faithful.

¹⁴² A video of locals singing *la gzhas* is available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=euiN6gFa7Pg.

DIVINATION

After investigating the girl's background, the families go to a *bla ma*, to temples to draw *mtshan*,¹⁴³ or to see fortunetellers, to interpret the new couple's prospects. The bride's clothes are also readied and if the outcome of divination is positive, a matchmaker or two are chosen. If the divination is negative the family denies or delays the preparation of clothes as they try to change their son's mind. Although strongly believing in divination, locals occasionally ignore the divination and arrange marriage anyway if the girl is from a wealthy, reputable family, or is regarded as hardworking. Additionally, it is hard to separate youths if they have a close, long-standing relationship. Fearing the couple will elope, the parents may accept such marriages. The parents also may accept the marriage if the girl becomes pregnant during this trial period.

Photo 117. *Mtshan* are short sticks or divination chopsticks with numbers. They are often in boxes in temples. People pray to the temple deity, ask for advice about the future, and draw one stick from the box after shaking it several times. A Tibetan book with information corresponding to the numbers on the sticks is kept in the temple. People consider this information to be instructions or messages from the temple deity (2013).



¹⁴³ *Mtshan* are short sticks or numbered divination chopsticks that are often kept in boxes in temples. People pray to the temple deity, ask for advice about the future, and draw one stick from the box after shaking it several times. A Tibetan book with information corresponding to the numbers on the sticks is kept in the temple. People consider this information to be instructions or messages from the temple deity.

PREPARING THE BRIDE'S CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Making clothes for the bride is one of the first things done once a spouse is selected. The groom's family prepares *gos lwa*, *phrug lwa*, and *tshar lwa* for the bride. Some locals prepare the clothes even before the son has met a girl, while others leave this until after the son meets a girl. Some locals are skilled at sewing and making robes. Consequently, most locals do not buy clothes for the wedding.

Photo 118. *Gos lwa* for women in a local shop in 2014.



Photo 119. *Tshar lwa* is a cloth-covered robe with sheepskin.



Photo 120. A bride wears *phrug lwa* over *tshar lwa* (2013).



Ornaments such as *bzho bzung*, *glo gzur*, *rna thog*, *ra 'dogs*, *ske gor*, *ga'u*, *rgyab dar*, *ra mgo*, *dmar gdan*, *dung*, *skag bcings*, and *ra leb* are also prepared for the bride. *Bzho bzung* is a silver ornament with two hooks at the bottom that women hang from the sash in the front. *Glo gzur* is a silver crescent moon above a sun decorated with coral that hangs from the sash at the left hip. *Rna thog* are silver earrings with long thin chains that end in small bells and are decorated with coral. The *ra 'dogs* is a silver disc with three holes that is put on the crown of the bride's head when she plaits her hair. *Ske gor* is a flat, crescent moon-shaped sheet of silver decorated with coral hung under the bride's chest and tied behind the neck. The *rgyab dar* is a cloth panel featuring coral or *ra mgo*¹⁴⁴ that is hung around the bride's back over her long, plaited hair. A *dmar gdan* is comprised of two or three strips of red cloth on which twenty or so silver bowls are strung. It hangs down the bride's back. *Ra leb* is a triangular cloth on which many coral beads are strung and is hung at the end of the bride's plaited hair. Photographs in this book illustrate these ornaments.

Photo 121. *Glo gzur*. Local women hang it on the left or right side of a robe, tied with the robe sash, as a decoration. Some people wear it in front of a robe beneath the sash today. There are many sizes and types of *glo gzur*. It has three main parts: shape of the sun, shape of the crescent moon, and the end, which is called *khav shubs* 'sewing needle case', with tiny chains and bells (2013).



¹⁴⁴ Pieces of coral as large as chicken eggs.

Photo 122. *Glo gzur*.



Photo 123. A local woman wearing a *glo gzur*.



Photo 124. *Bzho bzung* is hung on the front of a robe as an ornament. According to locals, women used it to hold the milk bucket while milking livestock in the past. There are many sizes and types of *bzho bzung*. These women wear *skag bcings* 'belt', made of animal skin decorated with silver, coral, and turquoise. Belts became popular beginning in about 2005. This photo was taken in 2013.



Photo 125. *Bzho bzung* – an ornament on a robe decorated with *spe byur* and coral. Locals believe that the engravings are of water spirits or animals such as whales and fish. Some feature the Eight Auspicious Symbols.



Photo 126. In this necklace, the yellow pieces except the bottom two, are *spe byur*. The two yellow pieces at the bottom are called *spe no*. The red ones are coral.



Photo 127. *Rna thog* 'silver earrings'.



Photo 128. *Ga'u*. Women wear it around the neck and hang it in front of their chest as a decoration. Some *ga'u* contain a protective amulet.



Photo 129. A smaller *ga'u* that a local woman kept at home. Such *ga'u* were rare in Bon skor Village in 2016.



Photo 130. *Skag bcings* 'belt' decorated with silver, coral, and turquoise.



Photo 131. A *ra 'dogs* is a round silver piece with two holes and decorated with coral. It is placed on the back of a woman's neck to hold *ra mgo*, the red coral-like beads, and false hair (2013).



Photo 132. *Ra 'dogs*.



Photo 133. *Dngul dung* or *dung* are made of silver and are shell-shaped. Women wear such ornaments on the back of their robes. The cloth where the *dung* are hung is called *dmar gdan*. There are usually twelve *dung* on a *dmar gdan* in three columns and four rows. When someone has died in a family, the relatives only wear two columns and four rows of *dung*. The four smaller silver circles above the *dung* — two on the right and two on the left are called *lany+dza*. The red cloth they are stuck to is *thong thig*. Three to four smaller *dung* in the middle lining up to the neck are called *tha na*. The red cloth, which they are stuck is called *ra chung*. The strips of red cloth underneath the *dung* are called *ja la*. The entire thing including *ja la* and the colorful cloth that connects it to *dmar gdan* is called *ja gdan*. *Dung* was rarely seen in Bon skor in 2016. Locals were forced to stop wearing such ornaments in 1958.



Photo 134. This *dmār gdan* features many tiny *dung* in the center.



Photo 135. *Lany+dza* is the symbol on this round silver piece. Women stick it on *dmār gdan* as a hair decoration.



Photo 136. *Dung*.



Photo 137. *Ja la* and *ja gdan*.



Photo 138. *Byu ru* 'coral' is used as a valuable, decorative ornament and usually worn as a necklace. Coral pieces vary in size. Larger pieces are very expensive. However, the popularity of wearing coral necklaces has declined. Locals think coral is expensive and some say that coral is nothing more than stones and thus not worth the expense.



THE MATCHMAKER

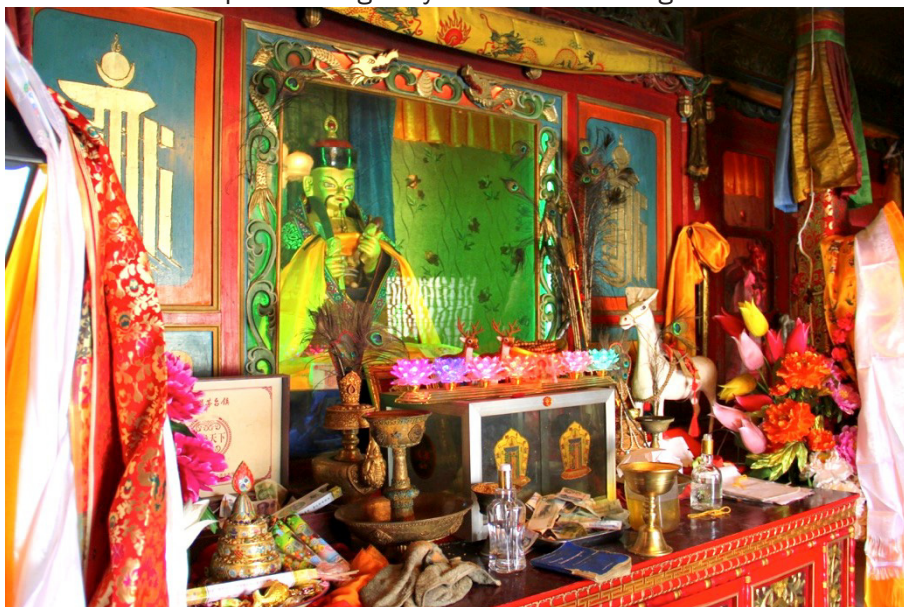
The matchmaker is always male and represents the male youth's family if the girl is marrying into the groom's family, while he represents the female youth's family if the groom is marrying into the bride's family. He should be an articulate, fluent orator. He may be a relative or friend of the youth's family. The youth's father very rarely serves as the matchmaker. Locals usually choose two or three matchmakers when they think negotiation might be challenging, and choose only one when they think a family will be easier to negotiate with. If a family has more than two or three daughters and the chosen spouse is not the youngest, it is easier to negotiate the marriage. However, if the girl is the youngest or only daughter and her elder sisters have married and moved into other homes, the negotiation is more challenging. When the family has chosen the matchmaker(s), they do not change them throughout the entire negotiation and marriage process, unless the negotiation becomes unexpectedly difficult.

THE FIRST NEGOTIATION

It is important to choose an auspicious day according to the Tibetan Calendar for the negotiations. The male youth's family asks a *rtsis pa* 'astrologer', usually a Buddhist monk in the local area, to choose such a date. It is considered disrespectful and inauspicious for the matchmakers to arrive at the spouse's home in the afternoon, therefore, the matchmakers go early in the morning for the first negotiation with the intended bride's family. They prepare what they will say and how they will persuade the other family. They must be confident. They rode horses in the past, but now arrive on motorcycles.

Regardless of the intended bride's family's familiarity with the matchmakers, they greet them warmly and offer tea. Meanwhile, the boy's family burns incense at home or in the Yul lha Temple to pray for good luck in the negotiation.

Photo 139. Yul Iha Temple, where a Yul Iha image is enshrined along with images of Shan pa rwa mgo on the right and Shan pa tsi thung on the left side. This temple was originally in the former village location.



The bride's father usually makes various excuses in order to refuse the proposal, for example, the daughter is a key person in the family, she is not mature enough for marriage, and so on. Few locals agree the first time. It is customary to disagree, even if the father actually agrees, otherwise the negotiation is considered too easy. The matchmakers give many reasons to persuade the bride's father and other family representatives to accept the proposal. If the families are friends and the matchmakers are the bride's relatives, negotiating an agreement is simplified. If the negotiation fails, the matchmakers come again to negotiate.

AN EXAMPLE OF A FIRST NEGOTIATION

Gsang sgrog provided examples of speeches used in this book, which he partly learned from a wedding DVD published by Kun grub rgyal (2005). Throughout the negotiation, Grags pa is a hypothetical name chosen for the male youth's father. Sangs rgyas refers to the female youth's father. Similarly, Shes rab and Bkra shis were chosen as the matchmaker names. For the sake of simplicity, "first matchmaker" and "second matchmaker" were used in English.

The first matchmaker's speech:¹⁴⁵

¹ ཡ། འདི་གྲགས་པ་ཚང་གི་བུ་ལྷ་བ་དང་ཁྱོད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གི་བུ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས།

¹ ya 'di grags pa tshang gi bu zla ba dang khyod sangs rgyas tshang gi
bu mo sgrol ma gnyis kyi

² སྒུན་ན་བཤད་པའི་ཆོག་ཡོད།

³ རྒྱུ་པ་སྒྲོལ་མའི་རྒྱུ་ཡོད།

² sngun na bshad pa'i tshig yod

³ rkang pa spos sa'i rjes yod

⁴ ཉགས་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འགོ་རེད།

⁵ ལྷ་བཞི་བ་ཆོས་པའི་རྟེན་རེད།

⁴ rtags rten 'brel gnyis kyi 'go red

⁵ zla bzhi ba tshes pa'i rtags red

⁶ གཅིག་ནས་རང་དབང་རང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་གཉེན་སྦྲིག

⁷ གཉིས་ནས་དང་གི་སྲིད་རྒྱུ་དང་མཐུན་པ།

⁶ gcig nas rang dbang rang 'thad kyi gnyen sgrig

⁷ gnyis nas deng gi srid jus dang mthun pa

⁸ གསུམ་ནས་གྲགས་པ་དང་སངས་རྒྱས་གཉིས།

⁹ ཉེ་བོ་དགའི་ཉེ་རབས་ཡོད།

¹⁰ ཁིས་ཀ་ཁ་དགའི་ལ་བ་རྩེ་ཡོད།

⁸ gsum nas grags pa dang sangs rgyas gnyis

⁹ nye bo dgu'i nye rabs yod

¹⁰ khis kha dgu'i lab rtse yod

¹¹ ཕྱི་སྒོར་ནས་འདང་བརྒྱབ།

¹² རང་སྒོར་ནས་རྩིས་བྱས་པས།

¹⁴⁵ Summaries in English are provided at the end of speeches.

¹¹ phyi skor nas 'dang brgyab
¹² nang skor nas rtsis byas pas

¹¹ བྱོད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཞེ་ན།
¹² ལྷུག་པོར་ཆགས་པའི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་རེད།།
¹³ གཡུ་མཚོར་ཆད་པའི་ར་ལག་རེད།།

¹¹ khyod sangs rgyas zhe na
¹² smug por chags pa'i gdung rgyud red
¹³ g.yu mtshor chad pa'i ra lag red

¹⁴ མགོ་གསེར་ཞུ་ཅན་གྱི་སྒྲ་མ་འབྲུངས་ས།།
¹⁵ རྟོག་ཐམ་ཀ་ཅན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ་སྤྱིས་ས།།
¹⁶ མགོ་བར་སྤྲགས་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྲགས་པ་འབྲུངས་ས།།

¹⁴ mgo gser zhwa can gyi bla ma 'khrungs sa
¹⁵ tog tham ka can gyi dpon po skyes sa
¹⁶ mgo bar sngags can gyi sngags pa 'khrungs sa

¹⁷ འཇིག་རྟེན་སོ་རྟིང་གཉིས་ཀར།
¹⁸ རྟོད་གངས་རིའི་དབུ་ཙེ་མཐོ་ས།།
¹⁹ ལྷུང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྒྱ་གཉིང་ཟབ་ས།།

¹⁷ 'jig rten so rnying gnyis kar
¹⁸ stod gangs ri'i dbu rtse mtho sa
¹⁹ smad rgya mtsho'i chu gting zab sa

²⁰ ང་ཤེས་རབ་ཅེས་ན་ཡང་།
²¹ པ་རྒྱུད་དེད་ན་ག་བོའི་རྩ་རྒྱུད་འདིད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད།།
²² མ་རྒྱུད་དེད་ན་ཡུ་མོའི་གསང་ལམ་ཉུལ་ས་ཡོད།།

²⁰ nga shes rab ces na yang
²¹ pha rgyud ded na sha bo'i rdza rgyud 'ded rgyu yod
²² ma rgyud ded na yu mo'i gsang lam nyul sa yod

²³ གཡས་པ་ལུང་ནགས་མོ་ལྷུགས་ལུང་འདྲ་འདྲ།།
²⁴ གཡོན་མ་ལུང་མར་ཁུའི་མཚོ་མོ་འདྲ་འདྲ།།

²³ g.yas pha lung nags mo phyugs lung 'dra 'dra

²⁴ g.yon ma lung mar khu'i mtsho mo 'dra 'dra

²⁵ ལྷ་ཡར་སྤྱེས་རྫོང་གི་འཇུག་ས་ཡིན།

²⁶ ལྷ་མར་འཇགས་གཏིང་གི་ཟབ་ས་ཡིན།

²⁵ rtswa yar skyes rdzong gi 'thug sa yin

²⁶ chu mar ngogs gting gi zab sa yin

²⁷ བུ་བུ་མོ་འདི་གཉིས།

²⁸ ཤ་རུས་བུ་རྒྱུད་ལ་མོ་བཏབ།

²⁹ ལོ་རྒྱུད་ལུག་ཅུར་རྩིས་བྱས།

³⁰ ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྤར་ཁ་འབྲིག་གི

³¹ བདག་ཁང་འཛིན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁ་སེམས་མཐུན་གི

²⁷ bu bu mo 'di gnyis

²⁸ sha rus bu rgyud la mo btab

²⁹ lo rgan drug cur rtsis byas

³⁰ kho gnyis kyi spar kha 'grig gi

³¹ bdag zhang 'dzin gnyis kyi kha sems mthun gi

³² ࠠདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོད་ནས།

³³ ཤ་རྒྱུད་ཐུབ་པའི་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུ་རེད།

³⁴ ལ་རྒྱུད་ཐུབ་པའི་སྤར་ཁ་འབྲིག་མཆོ་རེད།

³² 'di gnyis kyi steng nas

³³ pha rgyud thub pa'i yid bzhin nor bu red

³⁴ ma rgyud thub pa'i lha mo'i g.yu mtsho red

³⁵ བརྒྱུ་ལུག་སྤྱོད་ལ་འབྱུང།

³⁶ སྤྱོད་ལུག་རྒྱ་ཁ་དངུལ་གྱིས་ཤམ།

³⁷ སྤྱོད་ལུག་ཁྲི་ལ་འབྱུང།

³⁸ ཁྲི་ལུག་རྒྱ་ཁ་གསེར་གྱིས་ཤམ།

³⁵ brgya lug stong la 'bud

³⁶ stong lug rwa kha dngul gyis shan

37 stong lug khri la 'bud
38 khri lug rwa kha gser gyis shan

39 གཉེན་གྱི་ཐོད་པའི་ཁ་ཡིག་རེད།
40 སྐྱོན་པོས་བཏབ་པའི་ཞིང་ས་རེད།

39 gnyen gyi thod pa'i kha yig red
40 rgan pos btab pa'i zhing sa red

41 ངས་ཐག་ཉེ་སའི་ཉེ་པོ་མ་རྟེན།
42 ཉེ་པོ་ཀུན་ལ་མ་འགྲིག
43 དེ་འདྲ་མ་རེད།

41 ngas thag nye sa'i nye po ma rnyed
42 nye po kun la ma 'grig
43 de 'dra ma red

44 བྱ་གཅེས་ཕྱག་རྩིབ་ལ་གཅེས་མ་བཅའ་ནས།
45 བྱེད་ཆང་གི་སྒོ་ཁར་བྱད་ནས་གོ་ཁར་ཙོག་ན།

44 bu gces phrug rtsib la gces ma btsal nas
45 khyed tshang gi sgo khar bud nas go khar tsog na

46 བྱེད་ཆང་གིས།
47 མཁས་བའི་ཆོག་གིས་རང་ཤེས་དང་།
48 ལྷག་པོ་གཉེན་ལ་རང་འཇུག་ཞིག་བྱེད་ན།

46 khyed tshang gis
47 mkhas ba'i tshig gis rang shes dang
48 smug po gnyen la rang 'dzul zhig byed rgyu

49 བྱ་བསམ་ཤེས་ཡོད་གི
50 ལྷན་གཞིགས་ཤེས་ཡོད་གི

49 bu bsam shes yod gi
50 sman gzigshes shes yod gi

51 སེམས་ལ་འདོན་རྒྱུ་འཛིན་ཅིག་དང་།

52 རུམ་ལ་བསྟུ་རྒྱུ་གྲོ་ཞེས།

53 སྟར་རྒྱུ་དེ་ལ་ཡིན།

51 sems la 'dzin rgyu'i tshig cig dang

52 rum la bsdu rgyu'i gro zhig

53 ster rgyu nga'i re ba yin

The prospective bride's father's speech:

1 སྟིར་དེ་རིང་།

2 བྱེད་ཤེས་རབ་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དཔེ་སྟོལ་ཁར་བྱད་ནས་བུ་མོའི་གཉེན་གྱི་ཐོད་པ་བསྟོར་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ཞེས་
བཤད་གྱིན་ཡོད་གི།

1 spyir de ring

2 khyed shes rab dang bkra shis gnyis kyis nga'i sgo khar bud nas bu
mo'i gnyen gyi thod pa bskor rgyu yin zhes bshad kyin yod gi

3 ང་ལ་མཚོན་ན།

4 ལ་ཁའི་ཉི་མ་དང་ལ་རྟིང་གི་གྲིབ་མ།

5 དགུང་ཉི་ཤར་གྱི་ཕྱི་རྒྱུ་དང་ལོ་ཚེ་སྟོད་ཤོར་བའི་ཆེ་སྟེན།

3 nga la mtshon na

4 la kha'i nyi ma dang la rting gi grib ma

5 dgung nyi shar gyi phyi dro dang lo tshe stod shor ba'i tshe smad

6 བུ་མོ་གཅིག་ལུ་ངས་ལག་རྟེན་བྱེད་བསམ་ཡོད།

7 བུ་ཚ་མཚོན་ན་སྟུ་ནས་སྟོ་ཤར།

8 རས་གུར་སྟོ་ནུབ་བྱས་ཡོད།

6 bu mo gcig pu ngas lag rten byed bsam yod

7 bu tsha mtshon na sbra nag sgo shar

8 ras gur sgo nub byas yod

9 བུ་མོ་དེའི་ཡ་ཐོད་གྱི་མེག།

10 ཡ་ཆུང་གི་སེམས།

⁹ bu mo nga'i ya thod kyi mig

¹⁰ ya chung gi sems

¹¹ ནམ་ཡར་ལང་མིག་གིས་བརྟ་ས།

¹² ས་མར་རུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་ཆགས་ཤིང་།

¹¹ nam yar lang mig gis blta sa

¹² sa mar rub sems kyi chags shing

¹³ དེ་རིང་མི་ལྷག་མི་ལ་སྟེར་རྒྱ།

¹⁴ ས་ལྷག་བྱི་ལ་འཕེན་རྒྱ་ཟེར་བ་དེ་འདྲ་གཏན་ནས་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

¹³ de ring mi lhag mi la ster rgyu

¹⁴ sha lhag khyi la 'phen rgyu zer ba de 'dra gtan nas yod ni ma red

¹⁵ ལ་རིང་པོར་འགོ་བའི་ལག་རྟེན།

¹⁶ ཆེ་བྱི་མར་འགོ་བའི་ཡུལ་སྤང་།

¹⁷ མུན་པའི་ནང་གི་སྒྲོན་མེ་ཡིན།

¹⁵ la ring por 'go ba'i lag rten

¹⁶ tshe phyi mar 'gro ba'i yul srung

¹⁷ mun pa'i nang gi sgron me yin

¹⁸ བྱམ་དེ་རིང་གནས་ལ་སྟེར་བའི་བསམ་པ་ང་ལ་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

¹⁸ bu mo de ring gnas la ster ba'i bsam pa nga la yod ni ma red

¹⁹ རྩོད་ཤེས་རབ་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཉིས།

²⁰ ཡ་རྒྱུང་ལ་སློ་རྒྱུང་བྱེ་ཡོད་གི།

²¹ གངས་དཀར་ལ་སྤུབས་ཀ་བཀྲགས་ཡོད་ནི་རེད།

²² དེ་རིང་མི་སྟེར་ནའང་སྟེར་དགོས་ཞེས་མི་ཟེར་བར་ལྟ།

¹⁹ khyod shes rab dang bkra shis gnyis

²⁰ ya chung la sgo chung phye yod gi

²¹ gangs dkar la srubs ka bkyags yod ni red

²² de ring mi ster na'ang ster dgos zhes mi zer bar zhu

The second matchmaker's speech:

¹སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གི་བུ་མོ་དང་གྲགས་པ་ཚང་གི་བུ་ཚ་གཉིས་ཀ

²འགོ་དུས་གོམ་པ་འགོ་ཕྱགས་གཅིག

³མོ་རེས་སྤར་ཁ་མཐུན་ཕྱགས་གཅིག

¹sangs rgyas tshang gi bu mo dang grags pa tshang gi bu tsha gnyis ka

²'gro dus gom pa 'gro phyogs gcig

³lo res spar kha mthun phyogs gcig

⁴སྟྱར།

⁵རང་དབང་རང་འཐད།

⁶རང་ལྗོངས་དན་ན་བཞོལ་མེད།

⁷མྱེལ་མདོ་ཆད་ན་མཐུད་མེད།

⁴spyir

⁵rang dbang rang 'thad

⁶rang blor dran na bshol med

⁷myil mdo chad na mthud med

⁸བྱེད་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་གྲགས་པ་ཚང་གཉིས།

⁹སྤྲིད་པའི་རིང་གི་མི་རྟིང་།

¹⁰བསྐལ་བའི་རིང་གི་ཞང་འཛིན།

⁸khyed sangs rgyas dang grags pa tshang gnyis

⁹srid pa'i ring gi mi rnying

¹⁰bskal ba'i ring gi zhang 'dzin

¹¹དེ་རིང་དེད་གཉིས།

¹²བཅོལ་བའི་མི་ཡིན།

¹³འཕངས་པའི་མདའ་ཡིན།

¹¹de ring nged gnyis

¹²bcol ba'i mi yin

¹³'phangs pa'i mda' yin

14 བྱེད་ཚད་ལ་མཚན་ན།
 15 ལྷོད་གངས་རིའི་དབུ་ཅེ་མཐོ་ས་རེད།
 16 ལྷོད་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཚུ་གཏིང་ཟབ་ས་རེད།

14 khyed tshang la mtshon na
 15 stod gangs ri'i dbu rtse mtho sa red
 16 smad rgya mtsho'i chu gting zab sa red

17 ཕ་རྒྱུད་ཤ་བོའི་རྩ་རྒྱུད་འདིར་རྒྱ་ཡོད་ནི་རེད།
 18 མ་རྒྱུད་ཡུ་མོའི་གསང་ལམ་ཉུལ་རྒྱ་ཡོད་ནི་རེད།

17 pha rgyud sha bo'i rdza rgyud 'ded rgyu yod ni red
 18 ma rgyud yu mo'i gsang lam nyul rgyu yod ni red

19 བྱ་དང་བྱ་མོའི་གཉེན་སྤྱི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཉིང་འདི་ནས།
 20 ཏྲ་ར་ར་གཞུག་ལ་བྲིད་དེ།
 21 དར་དཀར་པོ་ལག་ཏུ་བཟུང་ནས།

19 bu dang bu mo'i gnyen sgrig gi steng 'di nas
 20 rta ra ra gzhug la khrid de
 21 dar dkar po lag tu bzung nas

22 ཕ་ཨ་ཁུ་དག་ལ་འདྲི་དགོས་ན།
 23 གཉེན་ཕུ་རྒྱ་དག་གིས་ཐོས་དགོས་ན།
 24 རེད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཁས་ལེན་ནས་ཕྱག་ཏུ་བྲུང་ས་ནི་ཡིན།

22 pha a khu dag la 'dri dgos na
 23 gnyen phu nu dag gis thos dgos na
 24 nged gnyis kyis khas blangs nas phrag tu blangs ni yin

25 དེ་རིང་བྱེད་ཚད་གིས།
 26 ཕ་ལོ་མ་ལོས་གྲོས་ཤིག་བྱོས།
 27 བྱ་ལོ་མི་སྤྱི་ཐབས་ཤིག་འཐེན།
 28 ལ་མོ་རྩ་བཞིའི་ཞུ་ཞིག་བཞོས།
 29 རྩ་བོ་མི་གང་ཐབས་ཤིག་འཐེན།

²⁵ de ring khyed tshang gis
²⁶ pha lo ma los gros shig byos
²⁷ bu lo mi sdug thabs shig 'then
²⁸ wa mo rna bzhi'i zhwa zhig bzos
²⁹ rna bo mi grang thabs shig 'then

The bride's father's second speech:

¹ ད་མགོ་ཡི་རྒྱལ་མཚན།
² ར་མའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་མི་བཤད།

¹ da mgo yi rgyal mtshan
² rnga ma'i rgyu mtshan mi bshad

³ ངའི་བུ་མོའི་སྟེང་ནས་བཤད་ན།
⁴ ཁ་ཁ་ཕུགས་ཀྱི་འགོ་རྒྱ།
⁵ མགོ་སྒྲ་སྒྲུག་པོའི་ནང་འཛིན།

³ nga'i bu mo'i steng nas bshad na
⁴ khra khra phyugs kyi 'go rdzi
⁵ mgo sbra smug po'i nang 'dzin

⁶ སྒྲ་ཀན་དུང་པ་ཅན་པོའི་ནང་འཛིན།
⁷ ཟངས་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཅན་པོའི་བདག་མོ།

⁶ sbra rgan dud pa can po'i nang 'dzin
⁷ zangs rgan kre nag can po'i bdag mo

⁸ ཁོ་མོ་མི་གཞན་ལ་སྟེར་བའི་བསམ་པ་གཏན་ནས་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།
⁹ རང་དབང་རང་འཐད་ཡིན་ཞེས་པ་རང་ལ་མཚོན་ན་མ་ཤེས།

⁸ kho mo mi gzhan la ster ba'i bsam pa gtan nas yod ni ma red
⁹ rang dbang rang 'thad yin zhes pa rang la mtshon na ma shes

¹⁰ དེ་ནི་ནམ་བུ་དབང་ལྷན་བསྟན་ནས་སྟོད་གཤེད་བུ་བུ་ཀྱི་ཡིན།
¹¹ ལྷ་མ་སྒྲ་ཚལ་བསྟན་ནས་མི་དགའ་བུ་བུ་ཀྱི་ཡིན།
¹² ཀ་ར་བུ་རམ་བྱིན་ནས་ཁ་མངར་བུ་བུ་ཀྱི་ཡིན།

¹⁰ de ni rnam bcu dbang ldan bstan nas lha dga' ru bcug ni yin

¹¹ sna ma sna tshogs bstan nas mi dga' ru bcug ni yin

¹² ka ra bu ram byin nas kha mngar du bcug ni yin

¹³ རང་དབང་རང་འབད་མིན་པ་ད་པ་མ་དང་བུ་ཕྱག་གིས་ཤེས་པ་ཁོ་ཐག་ཡིན། མི་ཞིག་ལ་སྟེར་བའི་བསམ་པ་
གཏན་ནས་མེད།

¹³ rang dbang rang 'thad min pa nga pha ma dang bu phrug gis shes
pa kho thag yin mi zhig la ster ba'i bsam pa gtan nas med

The first matchmaker's second speech:

¹ དེ་རིང་ང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་སྒོ་ལ་མ་སྒང་མདོར་ཡོང་ནས།

² བཙོ་ལྷ་མིན་ན་ཡིན་དགོས།

³ གནམ་གང་མེད་ན་ཡོད་དགོས།

⁴ སྟེར་དགོས་པ་ཤད་ན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཐག་གིས་མི་ཚོད་པ་ངས་ཤེས་ནི་རེད།

¹ de ring nga khyod kyi sgo lam srang mdor yong nas

² bco lnga min na yin dgos

³ gnam gang med na yod dgos

⁴ ster dgos bshad na khyod kyis thag gis mi chod pa ngas shes ni red

⁵ ཁྱོད་སངས་རྒྱས་མཚན་ན།

⁶ པ་ཞང་གམ་པའི་རྩོ་འབྲ་འབྲ།

⁷ མ་ཞང་གཙང་བའི་ཁྱུ་འབྲ་འབྲ།

⁵ khyod sangs rgyas mtshon na

⁶ pha zhang gram pa'i rdo 'dra 'dra

⁷ ma zhang gtsang bo'i chu 'dra 'dra

⁸ ངས་གསེར་ཚོའི་ནང་ལ་གསེར་ཐོམ་འཕེན་ཁྱོས་སིལ་སྒྲ་ཨེ་གྲག་རྟོས།

⁹ ངས་དངུལ་ཚོའི་ནང་ལ་དངུལ་ཐོམ་འཕེན་ཁྱོས་ཁྱོག་སྒྲ་ཨེ་གྲག་རྟོས།

⁸ ngas gser zo'i nang la gser thom 'phen khyos sil sgra e grag ltos

⁹ ngas dngul zo'i nang la dngul thom 'phen khyos khrog sgra e grag
ltos

¹⁰ ང་གང་ལ་འགྲོ་དགོས་ན།

¹¹ ལྷ་མས་ཅི་གསུངས་ཚུལ་ཡིན།

¹² མཛུབ་མོ་གང་བསྟན་ཤར་ཡིན།

¹⁰ nga gang la 'gro dgos na

¹¹ bla mas ci gsungs chos yin

¹² mdzub mo gang bstan shar yin

¹³ དེ་རིང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས།

¹⁴ ཏྲ་འདྲོ་བའི་ཐོམ་ཁ་ལ་རུ་བསྐྱར་རྒྱ།

¹⁵ ལྷ་བེ་སེང་ཐོད་པ་ང་ལ་བསྐྱར་རྒྱ།

¹⁶ ལྷན་བུ་མོ་འེ་ཐོད་པ་གནས་སུ་བསྐྱར་རྒྱ།

¹³ de ring khyed kyis

¹⁴ rta 'do ba'i gom kha la ru bskor rgyu

¹⁵ sga be seng thod pa nga la bskor rgyu

¹⁶ sman bu mo'i thod pa gnas su bskor rgyu

¹⁷ ང་ས་ཀ་རྒྱར་སོང་བ་མིང་ཞིག་ཡོད་དུ་རྒྱག།

¹⁸ མཛོ་ཁྱུང་དཀར་དེད་པར་དོན་ཞིག་ཡོད་དུ་རྒྱག།

¹⁷ nga sa ka chur song ba ming zhig yod du chug

¹⁸ mdzo khyung dkar ded par don zhig yod du chug

¹⁹ ང་ཤེས་རབ་ཡང་།

²⁰ མགོ་ནག་རྒྱང་གྲངས་ཉུང་རུང་ཕུ་ལུ་མང་།

²¹ རོག་མོ་ཁ་ཞེང་རྒྱང་རུང་པ་ས་ཡོད་།

¹⁹ nga shes rab yang

²⁰ mgo nag rkang grangs nyung rung phu nu mang

²¹ dog mo kha zheng chung rung pha sa yod

²² དེ་རིང་ང་མི་རྒྱུད་དེད་ནས་ཉེ་བོ་བཙལ་དུ་ཡོང་ནི་ཡིན།

²² de ring nga mi rgyud ded nas nye bo btsal du yong ni yin

23 ཏྲི་རི་ཕུག་ས་ནས་ཚོང་མེད།

24 ས་དེ་གའི་ས་ནས་ཉེ་མེད།

25 ཞེས་བཤད་མི་ཉན།

23 rta ri phrug sa nas tshong med

24 sa de ga'i sa nas nye med

25 zhes bshad mi nyan

26 ལག་ཆག་གཡོ་མས་གནས་བློན་ནས།

27 སྟོན་གྱི་མཛོ་མས་ཞིང་བློན་ན།

26 lag chag g.yo mas gnas dran nas

27 ston gyi mdzo mos zhing dran na

28 འཇིག་རྟོན་བོད་གྱི་འགྲོ་ལུགས་རེད།

29 མགོ་ནག་དཔེ་བརྒྱ་དཔེ་སྟོང་རེད།

30 ས་ནག་ལམ་བརྒྱ་ལམ་སྟོང་རེད།

28 'jig rten bod kyi 'gro lugs red

29 mgo nag dpe brgya dpe stong red

30 sa nag lam brgya lam stong red

31 ཏྲིང་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་རྗེས་སྐྱ

32 ལྷག་ཤ་རས་རང་བྱ་རང་གིས་བསྐྱབས་ནས།

33 ལྷན་བྱ་མོས་རང་མགོ་རང་གིས་བསྐྱས།

31 deng phyi rol gyi rjes su

32 stag sha ras rang bya rang gis bsgrubs nas

33 sman bu mos rang mgo rang gis bsas

34 རང་སྟོར་བྲིས་དང་ས་ནས།

35 ཡུལ་པ་མས་མ་ཁོགས་ཤོར་སོང་།

36 ལམ་སྐྱོ་མོར་མ་ཞུགས་ཕྱིལ་བཏང་དུས།

34 rang blur dris dang sa nas

35 yul pha mas ma khogs shor song

36 lam skya mor ma zhugs byol btang dus

37 དུང་ལྷ་བའི་ངོ་ན་མུན་པ་དང་།
38 དགྲང་ཉི་མའི་ངོས་ན་ཟེལ་བ་ཡོད་དུས།
39 ང་ལ་སྒྲིགས་དམོད་བྱེད་མི་ཉན།

37 dung zla ba'i ngo na mun pa dang
38 dgung nyi ma'i ngos na zil ba yod dus
39 nga la sdigs dmod byed mi nyan

40 འདིའི་སྟེང་ལ་ཅིག་འཕྲོ་ཨེ་དགོས་མི་དགོས།
41 ང་ཤེས་རབ་ལ་མཚོན་ན།
42 དེ་རིང་ས་ལམ་ཐག་བཅད་ནས།
43 གོས་སྐྱུན་ན་བཟུང་ནས།
44 ཏྲེས་སྐྱུ་བྱིད་དེ། སྟོང་ལ་ཁ་བརྟེན་དུ་ཡོད་ནི་ཡིན།

40 'di'i steng la cig 'gro e dgos mi dgos
41 nga shes rab la mtshon na
42 de ring sa lam thag bcaad nas
43 gos sngun na bzung nas
44 rta rjes su khrid de khyod la kha brda byed du yong ni yin

45 སྟོང་གྱིས་རྒྱ་མཚན་འདི་ལ་འདང་བརྒྱབ་ནས།
46 ཕྱིར་སྟོར་ནས་ཅིས་བཏབ་ནས།

45 khyed kyis rgyu mtshan 'di la 'dang brgyab nas
46 phyir skor nas rtsis btab nas

47 ང་ལ་རུམ་དུ་བསྐྱུར་བྱེད་ཐོ་ཞིག་དང་།
48 སེམས་སྐྱུ་འཛིན་རྒྱུའི་ཆོག་ཅིག་སྟེར་དགོས།

47 nga la rum du bsdu rgyu'i bro zhig dang
48 sems su 'dzin rgyu'i tshig cig ster dgos

The bride's father's third speech:

1 ད་ངས། བཟང་པོའི་ངོ་རིག་སྟེ།
2 ངན་པའི་ཆོག་འཚར་ནི་མ་རེད།

¹ da ngas bzang po'i ngo rig ste
² ngan pa'i tshig 'chor ni ma red

³ ཕོ་ངན་ཚིག་ལ་བསྐྱར་བཤད་དང།
⁴ མོ་ངན་ཚུམ་པ་ཉིས་འཐག་མི་བྱེད།

³ pho ngan tshig la bskyar bshad dang
⁴ mo ngan rtsam pa nyis 'thag mi byed

⁵ བྱ་མོ་སྤྱོར་ནི་མ་རེད།
⁶ སྐད་ཆ་གཞན་བཤད་རྒྱ་མེད།

⁵ bu mo ster ni ma red
⁶ skad cha gzhan bshad rgyu med

The first matchmaker's third speech:

¹ ལུ་ཁ་གཉིས།
² མི་བརྒྱ་ཤེའི་བསམ་པ་གཅིག་ལ་འཁོར་ཏེ།
³ མཛོ་བརྒྱ་ཤེའི་རྒྱ་ཁ་གཅིག་ལ་གཟད་ནས།

¹ 'u kha gnyis
² mi brgya bo'i bsam pa gcig la 'khor te
³ mdzo brgya bo'i rwa kha gcig la gzad nas

⁴ བྱ་བྱ་མོའི་དོན་དག་འདི།
⁵ འགྲིག་ནི་ཞིག་བཅས་ན་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ཡིན།
⁶ ཡིན་ན་འང་། སྤྱིར་དེ་རིང་མ་གནང་ས་མོད། སྤྱིན་མི་འདུག

⁴ bu bu mo'i don dag 'di
⁵ 'grig ni zhig bcos na zer ba de yin
⁶ yin na'ang spyir de ring ma gnangs mod skyon mi 'dug

⁷ ལུ་ཁ་གཉིས།
⁸ ཅོ་ཐོ་གནམ་ནས་མཐུན་ནི་མ་རེད།
⁹ སྤང་བ་ལམ་ནས་མཐུན་ནི་རེད།

⁷u kha gnyis

⁸co tho gnam nas mthud ni ma red

⁹snang ba lam nas mthun ni red

¹⁰སྐངས་ཤིག་ལ་སྒྲག་སྒྲ་གཏང་དེ།

¹¹སྒྲག་ལངས་བརྒྱབ་དུས་ཤིག་ལ།

¹⁰skabs shig la smag sga gtad de

¹¹smag langs brgyab dus shig la

¹²ཁྱོད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཡིན་ན་ཚོག་སྤྱིན་ནའང་།

¹³དུང་ཟླ་བའི་ངོས་ན་མུན་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་མི་ཉན།།

¹⁴དགུང་ཉི་མའི་ངོས་ན་ཟེལ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་མི་ཉན།།

¹²khyod sangs rgyas yin na chog su yin na'ang

¹³dung zla ba'i ngos na mun pa zhig yod mi nyan

¹⁴dgung nyi ma'i ngos na zil ba zhig yod mi nyan

¹⁵ངས་ཕྱག་མ་ཅི་བྱེད།།

¹⁶ཕྱིག་ཐོད་པ་བྱེད།།

¹⁵ngas phyag ma Ni byed

¹⁶sdig thod pa byed

¹⁷རྗེས་སྤྱོད་གཉིས་དང་གི་སྲིད་རྒྱས་ནང་ལྟར་རང་དབང་རང་འཐད་ཀྱིས་བྱད་སོང་ན་ཐབས་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད། དེ་
རིང་ལུ་ཚོར་གྲོས་མ་མཐུན་ནི་རེད། ད་དེད་གཉིས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

¹⁷rjes su kho gnyis deng gi srid jus nang ltar rang dbang rang 'thad
kyis bud song na thabs yod ni ma red de ring 'u tshor gros ma mthun
ni red da nged gnyis phyr log rgyu yin

SUMMARY

In this example, the first matchmaker's speech declares the auspiciousness of the timing of the proposal, and states that the couple voluntarily agreed to marry and to comply with relevant marriage laws. He emphasizes the positive relations between the two families and goes on to praise Sangs rgyas, the bride's father, as being from a pure, prestigious lineage that includes *bla ma*, leaders, and

sngags pa.¹⁴⁶ The family of the groom's father is similarly described as having an excellent background. The matchmaker claims that the young couple, according to divinations, are destined for each other and that their marriage will bring good fortune to both families. Finally, the matchmaker requests the bride's father to respond.

The bride's father begins by stating that he is now elderly, and all his other children have married. He explains that his daughter is now the only child left at home and that, because he depends on her, he disagrees with her marrying and moving to another home. When he finishes, the second matchmaker speaks about the two youths' agreeable fate to be wed. He explains that they have known each other since childhood, and then extols the bride's family and all the positive impressions their lineage has made in the village. He points out that both the matchmakers were assigned to carry out this negotiation and have promised to take full responsibility for anything the bride's father might ask them to do, such as traveling long distances to consult the bride's uncles and other relatives. Finally, he suggests that the bride's father hold a family discussion and reconsider the proposal.

The bride's father continues to reject the proposal, emphasizing that his daughter is a key family member who contributes much to household labor. He says that there is no possibility that he would allow her to marry and leave the home.

The first matchmaker then states that he understands that there is no immediate, decisive answer to the proposal. He agrees to listen to and do as the bride's father commands, but also expresses hope that the result will eventually be fruitful. He also suggests that if the youths do what they want in the future (i.e., elope) it will not be the matchmakers' fault. He urges the father to reconsider, in order to create a happy future for the young couple and both families.

The bride's father concludes by saying that he will not repeat what he has already said, and emphasizes that he will not agree to the proposal.

The first matchmaker then concludes by stating that everyone has discussed the marriage of the two youths, however, despite the fact that the youths' relationship was arranged by karma and not by people, they have not reached a successful conclusion. He stresses that if the two youths do whatever they want there is nothing anyone can do about it so long as it complies with the law. Finally, he bids goodbye to the bride's father.

BRIDE ABDUCTION

Brides may be abducted formally or informally. Informal abduction

¹⁴⁶ Tantric practitioners, usually affiliated with the Rnying ma Sect.

occurs before negotiation. I focus on formal abduction, which usually occurs if the first or second negotiation fails.

Shortly after an unsuccessful negotiation, the boy and his male relatives plan the abduction. The boy informs his lover and the boy's family prepares a *kha btags* and clothes for the bride. The girl agrees to escape with the boy. Discovery of the plan is very embarrassing.

After sunset, the youth rides a motorcycle while a male friend or relative rides another motorcycle. Late at night, when the girl's family are all in bed, the youth comes to fetch his lover, who has probably waited for him without sleeping. When the couple exits the girl's family compound, the companion is waiting at the gate on which he has already hung the *kha btags*, signaling that the girl has been abducted. At this time, worrying that they may be discovered, the three quickly mount their motorcycles, and leave. Before reaching the male youth's home, the boy asks the girl to put on the new Tibetan robe he brought from his home. They enter his home together.

Meanwhile, the boy's family has been burning incense, waiting expectantly for the arrival of the couple. The family prepares tea and food for them and the companion. Immediate family members and matchmakers are called to the home. The family's female members stay with the bride, talking to her, urging her to stay. On this night the family members, particularly the boy's parents, are happy. The bride is not allowed to return home until the second negotiation starts. If the second negotiation fails, the girl is sometimes not allowed to return home until her family gives an acceptable reply. If the girl's family still refuses to consent to the marriage, the boy's family sends her back and later abducts her again.

THE SECOND NEGOTIATION

A second negotiation follows the abduction. The matchmakers go as early as possible, otherwise, the girl's family is offended and the matchmakers are criticized. This negotiation is more challenging than the first. The matchmakers must be modest and behave in a guilty manner, because the family they represent has abducted the girl. They should be persuasive and responsive to each speech.

Upon the arrival of the matchmakers, the female members come out and stop the barking watchdogs. The matchmakers hold *kha btags* and bolts of colorful silk to give as an apology to the girl's family. Unlike the first negotiation, the men, especially the bride's father, do not come out to meet the matchmakers. The girl's mother or other female relatives ask the matchmakers to come inside the home where the girl's father appears upset and, at first, refuses to speak to the matchmakers.

Though the girl's mother or other females may be upset, they still serve milk tea and food to the matchmakers.

Earlier in the day, the girl's important male relatives have been called to participate in the negotiation.

AN EXAMPLE OF A SECOND NEGOTIATION

The first matchmaker's speech:

1 དེ་རིང་ང་མི་བོ་སྒྲངས་ལང་མགོན་ཞུ་མེད་ལ།
2 རྟ་ཕོ་བང་རྒྱགས་མགོན་སྒྲུབ་མེད་པར།
3 དེ་རིང་ཡོང་དོན་ཡང་བྱ་བྱ་མའི་དོན་དག་རེད།

1 de ring nga mi bo sngangs lang mgo na zhwa med la
2 rta pho bang rgyugs mgo na srab med par
3 de ring yong don yang bu bu mo'i don dag red

4 དགུང་ཨ་སྒོན་མཐོ་རུང་།
5 ང་ཅ་གེ་ཅི་གེ་སྒྲུང་གྲིན་ཡོད་།
6 ས་དོག་མའི་ཁ་ཞེང་ཆེ་རུང་།
7 ང་ཅ་གེ་ཅི་གེ་འཇའ་གྲིན་ཡོད་།

4 dgung a sngon mtho rung
5 nga tsa ge tsi ge sgur gyin yod
6 sa dog mo'i kha zheng che rung
7 nga tsa ge tsi ge 'jab kyin yod

8 ཁྱོད་སངས་རྒྱས་ལ་མཚོན་ན།
9 རྒྱུ་མ་རྒྱུ་འགོ་ཁྱེད་ས་མ་རྒྱུད་རེད།
10 རྫོག་ཡའ་མའི་འགོ་ཁྱེད་ས་རྫ་རྒྱུད་རེད།

8 khyod sangs rgyas la mtshon na
9 chu rma chu'i 'go khungs rma rgyud red
10 rdo g.ya' ma'i 'go khungs rdza rgyud red

11 ས་ཡའ་གྲི་གོང་ཐང་དེད་ན།
12 མ་ཡུམ་གྲི་གོང་རྒྱུད་དེད་ན།

¹¹ pha yab kyi gong thang ded na
¹² ma yum gyi gdong rgyud ded na

¹³ རྒྱལ་རི་མཐོན་པོ་བླ་ཡོད་ནི་རེད།
¹⁴ བླ་ལ་རོག་མོ་མ་གཏོགས་འཕུར་ཐུང་མེད།
¹⁵ མདུན་རི་ཟབ་མོ་ནགས་ཡོད་ནི་རེད།
¹⁶ བྱ་ཁུ་བྱ་ལ་མ་གཏོགས་བླ་ལ་ཐུང་མེད།

¹³ rgyab ri mthon po brag yod ni red
¹⁴ glag rog mo ma gtogs 'phur myong med
¹⁵ mdun ri zab mo nags yod ni red
¹⁶ bya khu byug ma gtogs grag myong med

¹⁷ ངས་བཤད་གི་སྐད་མགོ་དམ་འཇོ་བྱེད།
¹⁸ འགོ་བའི་གོམ་པ་བྱུང་ལེན་བྱེད།

¹⁷ ngas bshad gi skad mgo dma' mo byed
¹⁸ 'gro ba'i gom pa thung len byed

¹⁹ བྱ་བུ་མོས་འདི་ལྟར་རང་དབང་རང་འཐད་ཡིན་ཞེས།
²⁰ སྒྲུག་ལངས་བརྒྱལ་བཏང་ན།
²¹ ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ངོན་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་ཡོད་ན།
²² སེམས་ན་སྒྲུག་ཅིག་ཡོད་ན།
²³ ང་དེ་རིང་དེ་བཤག་གི་ཡོང་ནི་ཡིན།

¹⁹ bu bu mos 'di ltar rang dbang rang 'thad yin zhes
²⁰ smag langs brgyab btang na
²¹ khyod kyi ngo na rdul zhig yod na
²² sems na sdug cig yod na
²³ nga de ring de bshag gi yong ni yin

²⁴ དེ་རིང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཆང་གང་པོས་བྱ་བུ་མོའི་ངོན་དག་འདིར་གྲོས་ཤིག་བྱེད་པར་མཁྱེན།

²⁴ de ring khyed khyim tshang gang pos bu bu mo'i don dag 'dir gros
shig byed par mkhyen

²⁵ངས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་བཤགས་པ་གོས་བྱེད།

²⁶བཅོས་བ་རྟ་བྱེད།

²⁵ngas khyod kyi bshags pa gos byed

²⁶bcos ba rta byed

The bride's father's speech:

¹སྤྱིར།

²ཉེ་བྱེད་ན་སྤྱོད་དང་།

³ཚང་རྒྱལ་ན་ཕྱི་དྲོ།

¹spyir

²nye byed na snga dro dang

³tshong rgyag na phyi dro

⁴ནམ་ལང་གི་དང་པོ།

⁵ཉི་ཤར་གྱི་རྩེ་མོར།

⁴nam lang gi dang po

⁵nyi shar gyi rtse mor

⁶སྤྱོད་ཚང་ཅི་ཞིག་ལ་མ་ཡོང་ནི་ཡིན།

⁷ད་ནངས་ངེད་ཀྱི་ཚོན་གཉིས།

⁸ལ་རྒྱལ་ས་ལུང་རྒྱལ་ས་བྱས།

⁹ཀི་ལུང་པ་གང་བཏབ་ནས།

¹⁰ཕེ་གཙོང་པ་གང་བཏབ་ནས།

⁶khyed tshang ci zhig la ma yong ni yin

⁷da nangs nged rgan rgon gnyis

⁸la rgyugs lung rgyugs byas

⁹ki lung pa gang btab nas

¹⁰phe gzhong pa gang btab nas

¹¹རྒྱལ་ས་འཁྱུང་མ་རྟེན་པའི་སྐབས་དེར།

¹²སྤྱོད་ཚང་ཡོང་ནས།

13 ཁ་བཏགས་ཆང་ཕངས་བསྟན་ནས།

14 ང་འགྲོ་རུ་བཞག་ནས་རྗེས་བཟླས།

15 ཟ་རུ་བཞག་ནས་ཁར་བཟླས།

11 rgyugs sa'i khung ma rnyed pa'i skabs der

12 khyod tshang yong nas

13 kha btags chang phangs bstan nas

14 nga 'gro ru bzhag nas rjes bltas

15 za ru bzhag nas khar bltas

16 ང་རྒྱ་ཟངས་ཁ་ལེབ་མེད་ན་ཅི་བསྐྱོལ་ཨེ་རིག་བཟླས།

17 ང་རུལ་མའི་ཕ་ཁྱིའ་མེད་ན་ཅི་བཅོས་ཨེ་འགྲོར་བཟླས།

16 nga rgya zangs kha leb med na ci bskol e rig bltas

17 nga rul ma'i pha mying med na ci bcos e 'gror bltas

19 གྲགས་པ་ཆང་།

20 བྱེད་ཚོས་བཤད་ན།

21 རྒྱང་པས་ཡོབ་ཆེན་མི་ཚོར་ཟེད།

22 ལག་པས་སྒྲབ་མདའ་མི་ཐུབ་ཟེད།

19 grags pa tshang

20 khyed tshos bshad na

21 rkang pas yob chen mi non zer

22 lag pas srab mda' mi thub zer

23 སྤྱིར་ཉེ་རིང་རྩ་གསུམ་ཞིག་གི་བསམ་པས་བརྒྱུད་མེད་གི

24 ངའི་མགོ་ནང་ལ་ཆང་བཅོས།

25 མིག་ནང་ལ་འབྲུ་འདེབས་པར་འདོད་ཡོད་གི

23 spyir nye ring rtsa gsum zhig gi bsam pas bzung med gi

24 nga'i mgo nang la tshang bcos

25 mig nang la 'bu 'debs par 'dod yod gi

26 ངའི་བྲུ་མོ་གཏན་ནས་སྟེར་ནི་མ་རེད།

27 ང་ལོ་རབ་ཆོག་ཐོག་ཡིན།

28 འཕར་བ་རྩེས་སྒྲིག་ཡིན།

26 nga'i bu mo gtan nas ster ni ma red

27 nga pho rab tshig thog yin

28 'phar ba rjes thog yin

29 མི་ལྷག་མི་དང་།

30 སྐྱ་གཞི་ལ་འཕེན་རྒྱ་མེད་ཅེས་ངས་བཤད་ཐུང་།

29 mi lhag mi dang

30 sha lhag khyi la 'phen rgyu med ces ngas bshad myong

31 ང་ཚོས་སྒྲིག་གཏན་སྒྲིག་གཅིག་ཡིན།

32 དེ་རིང་ཡང་མི་སྤྲོད་བཞུགས་པ་ཡིན།

33 སྤྲོད་ཐོང་ལ་ཉེ་བྱེད་ཚུལ་ཡོད་མོད།

34 ངའི་བུ་མོ་ཁྱོད་ཚོས་འཕྲོག་ནི་ཡིན།

31 nga tshig thog gdan thog gcig yin

32 de ring yang mi ster ba kho thag yin

33 spyir bod la nye byed tshul yod mod

34 nga'i bu mo khyod tshos 'phrog ni yin

The bride's father's brother's speech:

1 གྲགས་པ་ཚང་དང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གཉིས།

2 གནའ་མི་རྣམས་འཕྲིད་ཅིང་ནས་བཟུང་།

3 དེང་མི་གསར་བ་ནས་བཟུང་།

1 grags pa tshang dang sangs rgyas tshang gnyis

2 gna' mi rnying ba'i ring nas bzung

3 deng mi gsar ba nas bzung

4 བལ་དཀར་ཁ་རྒྱུ་ལྷ་འཐབ་འཐབ་བྱས་ཡོད།

5 བྱིང་དཀར་བྱ་རའི་བྱིང་སྤྲིགས་སྤྲིགས་བྱས་ཡོད།

4 bal dkar kha chu'i skra 'thab 'thab byas yod

5 phyeng dkar bya ra'i gling sgrigs sgrigs byas yod

⁶ ཉེ་ཐོག་ཉེ་དང་ལྷགས་ཐོག་གི་རྒྱུ།

⁷ ཉེ་པོ་ཉེ་ལམ་དང་ཤག་པོ་ཉེ་ལམ།

⁶ nye thog nye dang lcags thog gi rno

⁷ nye po'i nye lam dang shag po'i shag lam

⁸ ཡིན་ནའང་བྱ་མོ་གཅིག་ལྟ།

⁹ ལག་ལོག་ལ་མེ་འབྲུད་དང་།

¹⁰ ལག་ཐོག་ལ་ཆུ་ལྷག་མཐན་ཡིན།

⁸ yin na'ang bu mo gcig pu

⁹ lag 'og la me 'bud dang

¹⁰ lag thog la chu ldug mkhan yin

¹¹ ལ་རིང་པོར་འགོ་བྱེད་ལག་རྟེན་ཡིན།

¹² ཆེ་བྱི་མར་འགོ་བའི་ཡུལ་སྤྱད་ཡིན།

¹¹ la ring por 'go byed lag rten yin

¹² tshe phyi mar 'gro ba'i yul srung yin

¹³ ལྷན་ལྷན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ནམ་ཡང་སེམས་སྒྲུ་མོའི་སྤྱད་ལ་བཟུང་ཡོད།

¹⁴ སོ་སྤྱུམ་བཅུའི་ཁ་ན་བརྒྱན་གྱིན་ཡོད།

¹³ rgan rgon gnyis kyis nam yang sems skya mo'i steng la bzung yod

¹⁴ so sum bcu'i kha na brjod kyin yod

¹⁵ བྱ་མོ་ཁྱིད་ཐལ།

¹⁶ ཁྱྱེད་གྲགས་པ་ཆང་ལ་མཚན་ནའང་།

¹⁵ bu mo khrid thal

¹⁶ khyod grags pa tshang la mtshon na'ang

¹⁷ བྱ་གཅིག་ལྟ་རེད།

¹⁸ གཅེས་ཕྱག་རོགས་ལ་གཅེས་མ་ལེན་དགོས།

¹⁹ ཁྲ་ཁྲ་ཐོག་གི་རྒྱུ་པོ་ཡིན།

²⁰ མགོ་སྤྱ་སྤྱག་པོའི་ནང་འཛིན་ཡིན།

21 ཞེས་བཤད་ན་བདེན་གྱི
 22 སྐར་རྒྱུ་གཉིས་ལ་ཡང་བུ་མོ་ཁར་མོ་རེད།
 23 གཅིག་མཚུངས་རེད།

17 bu gcig pu red
 18 gces phrug rogs la gces ma len dgos
 19 khra khra zog gi rdzi bo yin
 20 mgo sbra smug po'i nang 'dzin yin
 21 zhes bshad na bden gi
 22 rgan rgon gnyis la yang bu mo kher mo red
 23 gcig mtshungs red

24 བྱེད་ཚང་གིས།
 25 རུམ་ནང་རིག་གི་བཞག་ན་ཚོག
 26 བྱིས་ལ་མོ་གི་བཞག་ན་ཚོག

24 khyed tshang gis
 25 rum nang rig gi bzhag na chog
 26 khyim la go gi bzhag na chog

27 ད་ལྟོ་བཟང་ཞེ་ན།
 28 སུ་རུ་གཅིག་གི་སུ་རུ་ཡིན།
 29 སྐྱུ་མོ་གཅིག་གི་ཚང་རུ་ཡིན།

27 nga blo bzang zhe na
 28 phu nu gcig gi phu rtsa yin
 29 stag mo gcig gi tshang rtsa yin

30 རྟོག་སྒྲོན་པོ་ཅན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ་འབྲུངས་ས།
 31 མོས་གསེར་ཁང་ཅན་གྱི་ལྷ་མ་འབྲུངས་ས།

30 tog sngon po can gyi dpon po 'khrungs sa
 31 gos gser khang can gyi bla ma 'khrungs sa

32 ད་ལྟོ་བཟང་སྐུན་ཚོ་ཞེ་ན།
 33 ཀ་ཡི་དགྱིལ་ནས་བསྐད་ཐོང་།
 34 མོ་ཡི་གཞུང་ནས་བསྐད་ཐོང་།

32 nga blo bzang spun tsho zhe na
33 ka yi dkyil nas bsdad myong
34 go yi gzhung nas bsdad myong

35 ཕ་ཁད་གུམ་པ་འཐོར་ནས་ཡོད།
36 མ་ཁད་ཅ་ལོ་ལྷོས་ནས་ཡོད།

35 pha zhang gram pa 'thor nas yod
36 ma zhang ca lo ldem nas yod

37 ཕ་ཁུ་ཁཱ་ཡག་རུ་འདྲ་འདྲ་ཡོད།
38 མ་ཁད་མ་བྱའི་སྒོ་འདྲ་འདྲ་ཡོད།

37 pha khu khra yag rdza 'dra 'dra yod
38 ma zhang rma bya'i sgro 'dra 'dra yod

39 འུ་ཚོས་འདི་གོས་མོལ་བྱས་ཏེ།
40 སྤྱན་འགྲིག་གི་བཞག་ནས།
41 འུ་བྱམས་གི་བཞག་ན།

39 'u tshos 'di gros mol byas te
40 sman 'grig gi bzhag nas
41 bu byams gi bzhag na

42 མ་ལས་པ་སྐྱེ་ལྷན་མཚོག་ཡིན་རུང་ངས་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་ལ་བསྐྱར་ཤེས་ནི་རེད།
43 ང་མགྲོགས་མོ་སྐྱེ་མེར་རླུང་ཡིན་རུང་སྐྱེ་མོ་ལམ་ལ་བསྐྱར་ཤེས་ནི་རེད།

42 mkhas pa skye ldan mchog yin rung ngas 'jig rten khams la bsdur
shes ni red
43 nga mgyogs mo skyi ser rlung yin rung skya mo lam la bstun shes ni
red

44 ཡིན་ནའང་། བྱེད་ཚད་གིས།
45 ང་མི་མང་པོའི་ཚད་ཀྱིས་མ་ཤེས་གོང་།
46 ཏེ་ཐོར་བྱ་ཞིག་གིས་མ་སེར་གོང་།

44 yin na'ang khyed tshang gis
45 nga mi mang po'i tshod kyis ma shes gong

46 rta thor bu zhig gis ma ser gong

47 གོས་གོང་བས་མ་གོ་བླ་བླངས།

48 ཏུང་བོས་ནི་མ་གོ་བླ་འཆམས།

47 gos gong bas ma go glu blangs

48 dung bos ni ma go bro 'chams

49 བྱེད་ཚས་འདར་ཞིག་རྒྱབས།

50 དེ་རིང་བྱ་ཁྱུག་གི་གསུང་སྟན་གསལ་ནས།

51 འབུ་སྟ་བརྒྱ་འཁོར་ནས་བླ་བླངས་ལེན་ཟེར་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

49 khyed tshos 'dang zhig rgyobs

50 de ring bya khu byug gi gsung snyan grags nas

51 'bu sna brgya 'khor nas glu dbyangs len zer ba'i rgyu mtshan yod ni
ma red

52 བྱེད་ཚས་སེམས་རྟེན་པ་མའི་གཅེས་ཕྱག་བླངས་རྟེ།

53 བྱུང་དཀར་མཛོ་ཡི་རྟེན་མགོ་བླངས་ནས་བྱད་སོང་ན།

52 khyod tshos sems rten pha ma'i gces phrug blangs te

53 khyung dkar mdzo yi rdang mgo blangs nas bud song na

54 གོས་འཆམ་ནི་མ་རེད།

55 བ་ཨ་ཁུའི་ཡན་ན་དབང་ཆེན་མེད།

56 རྩོ་པ་བོང་ཡན་ན་ལྷོད་མོ་མེད།

54 gros 'cham ni ma red

55 pha a khu'i yan na dbang chen med

56 rdo pha bong yan na ljid mo med

57 དེ་རིང་བྱེད་བར་བ་ཚར་མཚན་ན།

58 འདི་སྟན་བུ་མོས་གནས་ཡུལ་བརྒྱད་ཐལ།

59 འབྲི་བྱུལ་མས་ཞིང་ལ་རྩལ་ཐལ་ཞེ་ན།

57 de ring khyod bar ba tshor mtshon na

58 'di sman bu mos gnas yul brgyud thal

59 'bri thul mas zhing kha nyul thal zhe na

60 འུ་མོ་སྟེར་བའི་སྐད་ཆ་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

61 ཆེག་བཤད་ཀྱིན་བཤད་ཀྱིན་ཕྱིར་རྟུར་མི་བྱེད།

62 བ་དྲུང་བཞིན་དྲུང་བཞིན་རྟུ་མཐའ་མི་ཉུལ།

60 bu mo ster ba'i skad cha yod ni ma red

61 tshig bshad kyin bshad kyin phyir nur mi byed

62 ba ngur bzhin ngur bzhin lhas mtha' mi nyul

63 འུ་ཚོ་རྟ་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྟ་བདག་ལ་གསལ།

64 མཛོ་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མཛོ་བདག་ལ་གསལ།

63 'u tsho rta yi lo rgyus rta bdag la gsal

64 mdzo yi lo rgyus mdzo bdag la gsal

65 ངའི་ཆ་མོ་སྟོལ་མ་ཞེ་ན།

66 བྱིས་མའི་ནང་གི་གཅེས་མ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

67 རྩོག་གི་ནང་གི་གཡང་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན།

65 nga'i tsha mo sgrol ma zhe na

66 khyim m'i nang gi gces ma zhig yin

67 zog gi nang gi g.yang chen zhig yin

68 གོས་ཚར་ལའི་ནང་ལ་བརྟམས་ཏེ་བཞག།

69 ཕུག་ཐེབ་བརྟའི་དྲུལ་ལ་བསྐྱེལ་ནས་བཞག།

70 གཡུ་བྱ་རུ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མནན་ནས་བཞག།

68 gos tshar lwa'i nang la btums te bzhag

69 phrug theb brgya'i dkyil la bskyil nas bzhag

70 g.yu byu ru gnyis kyis mnan nas bzhag

71 མཐར་སྐྱ་མའི་ཁྱེད་གི་ནང་འཛིན་ལ་དགོས།

72 ཕུགས་ཁ་ཁའི་ཁྱེད་གི་ཁྱུ་རྒྱན་ལ་དགོས།

71 mkhar skya mo'i khug gi nang 'dzin la dgos

72 phyugs khra khra'i khug gi khyu rgyan la dgos

73 མ་ལོ་བཙུང་མ་བུ་བྱུང་གོང་།

74 ལྷུག་གསུམ་བཙུང་མ་ལོ་བཙུང་གོང་།

73 mo lo bco lnga ma bud gong

74 drug gsum bco brgyad ma lon gong

75 ཉིན་ནས་མྱི་བདག་བྱུང་ཕྱིར་།

76 སྤེལ་ནས་གནས་བདག་བྱུང་ཕྱིར་།

75 myin nas myi bdag bud myong

76 srib nas gnas bdag bud myong

77 དཀར་པོ་ཚས་ལ་མ་བཞེ།

78 ལྷུག་པོ་གཉིན་ལ་མ་བྱིན།

77 dkar po chos la ma brje

78 smug po gnyen la ma byin

79 དེ་རིང་ངོ་དཀར་རེས་དམར་རེས་བྱས་ན་མི་བཟང་གི

80 བྱུང་གཉིས་ཀ

81 མི་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ནང་གི་བཟང་སྐྱེས་ཤིག་དང་།

82 ཤིང་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ནང་གི་དྲང་སྐྱེས་ཤིག་ཡིན།

83 དེ་རིང་སྟེར་པའི་དཔེ་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

79 de ring ngo dkar res dmar res byas na mi bzang gi

80 khyed gnyis ka

81 mi yar skyes nang gi bzang skyes shig dang

82 shing yar skyes nang gi drang skyes shig yin

83 de ring ster pa'i dpe yod ni ma red

84 ལུ་མོ་འང་ཁ་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་དེ།

85 དབང་ཆེན་ཡུལ་ན་ཡོད།

84 bu mo'ang kha chen ri na yod

85 dbang chen yul na yod

⁸⁶ ལྷ་བཞི་བའི་ཆོས་བཅོ་ལྔ་ར་ངས་ཤུ་བ་ཤུ་བྲག

⁸⁷ མི་རྒྱས་རྩ་ལག་ཚང་མ་འབོད་ལ་ལུ་ཚོས་གྲོས་ཤིག་བྱེད།

⁸⁸ དེ་མ་གཏོགས་དེ་རིང་བྱེད་གཉིས་ལ་རུམ་དུ་སྤྱད་རྒྱུ་འོ་ཤོ་དང་སེམས་སུ་འཛིན་རྒྱུ་འི་ཆོག་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

⁸⁶ zla bzhi ba'i tshes bco lngar ngas sha ba sha khrag

⁸⁷ mi rgyus rtsa lag tshang ma 'bod la 'u tshos gros shig byed

⁸⁸ de ma gtogs de ring khyed gnyis la rum du sdud rgyu'i bro dang
sems su 'dzin rgyu'i tshig yod ni ma red

The second matchmaker responds:

¹ ངས་སྐད་ཆ་ཆོག་གཅིག་གཉིས་ཤིག་བཤད།

² སྤྱིར་མང་པོ་ཞིག་བཤད་རྒྱུ་མེད།

¹ ngas skad cha tshig gcig gnyis shig bshad

² spyir mang po zhig bshad rgyu med ki

³ བྱ་དང་བྱ་མོ་རང་དབང་རང་འཐད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་འདི་ནས།

⁴ དང་པོ་ལུ་ཚོས་ཕར་བཤད་རྒྱུར་བཤད་བྱས་ནི་རེད།

³ bu dang bu mo rang dbang rang 'thad kyi steng 'di nas

⁴ dang po 'u tshos phar bshad tshur bshad byas ni red

⁵ ཁྱེད་ཕ་མར་ཡང་ཁག་མེད་གི་བྱ་མོ་མཚོན་ན་ཕ་མ་བརྟེན་སའི་གཞི་རེད།

⁵ khyod pha mar yang khag med gi bu mo mtshon na pha ma brten
sa'i gzhi red

⁶ ཡིན་ནའང་བྱ་བྱ་མོས་རང་སྤྱོད་རང་གིས་བྱས་བཏང་ན།

⁷ རེད་གཉིས་སྤྱིར་དེ་རིང་ནམ་ལང་གི་ཉི་ཤར་ལ་ཡོད་ནི་ཡིན་མོད།

⁸ ལམ་ཐག་གི་དབང་གིས་ད་ཐོན་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་རེད།

⁹ དེ་རིང་ཡིན་ན་ཁྱེད་ཚོས་ཉི་མ་སྐར་མ་རེ་བཤད་ནས་གང་རུང་ལ་འདད་བརྒྱབ་པར་ངས་སྤྱིང་ཐག་པ་ནས་བཀའ་
བྲིན་ཆེ་ལྟ།

⁶ yin na'ang bu bu mos rang blo rang gis dris btang na

⁷ nged gnyis spyir de ring nam lang gi nyi shar la yong ni yin mod

⁸ lam thag gi dbang gis da thon pa'i rgyu mtshan red

⁹ de ring yin na khyed tshos nyi ma skar ma re bshad nas ¹⁰ gang rung
la 'dang brgyab par ngas snying thag pa nas bka' drin che zhu

¹¹ བརྒྱལ་ཡིས་བརྒྱལ་བཤད་རུང་།

¹² སྟོང་གིས་སྟོང་བཤད་རུང་།

¹¹ brgya yis brgya bshad rung

¹² stong gis stong bshad rung

¹³ སྤུལ་བྱ་མོས་གནས་ཡུལ་བརྒྱུད་ནི་རེད།

¹⁴ འབྲི་བྱུལ་མ་ཞིང་ཁར་ཉལ་ནི་རེད།

¹³ sman bu mos gnas yul brgyud ni red

¹⁴ 'bri thul ma zhing khar nyul ni red

¹⁵ སྤྱག་ཤ་རས་རང་བྱ་རང་གིས་ལས་ནི་རེད།

¹⁶ སྤུལ་བྱ་མོས་རང་དོན་རང་གིས་སྐྱབ་ནི་རེད།

¹⁵ stag sha ras rang bya rang gis las ni red

¹⁶ sman bu mos rang don rang gis sgrub ni red

¹⁷ རང་དོན་རང་གིས་ལས་ན་ལེ་བདའ་མེད།

¹⁸ རང་རྟ་རང་གིས་དེད་ན་ར་མདའ་མེད།

¹⁷ rang don rang gis las na le bda' med

¹⁸ rang rta rang gis ded na ra mda' med

¹⁹ ཉེ་ཡོད་ན་ཆོག་གི་མེད་ན་ཆོག་གི

²⁰ ཤ་བ་ཤ་ཁྲག་ལ་བརྒྱལ་བྱ་ཆོས་གོས་བྱེད།

¹⁹ nye yod na chog gi med na chog gi

²⁰ sha ba sha khrag la brda brgyag 'u tshos gros byed

The bride's father's speech:

¹ བྱ་མོའི་གནས་ཡུལ་རེད།

² མཛོམས་ཞིང་ཡུལ་རེད།

³ ཐབས་ཡོད་ཅི་མ་རེད།

⁴ ད་འབྲི་ས་ཐམས་ཅད་འབོད་དེ་བཟ། དེ་མ་གཏོགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མེད།

¹bu mo'i gnas yul red

²mdzo mo'i zhing yul red

³thabs yod ni ma red

⁴da 'dri sa thams cad 'bod de blta de ma gtogs bshad rgyu med

SUMMARY

The first matchmaker begins by stating that he got up early and came urgently to discuss the issue of the two youths. He humbly expresses sympathy for the girl's family. He states that the two youths have obviously made up their minds and eloped, so he has come to apologize on behalf of the boy's family. The matchmaker strongly encourages further discussion.

The bride's father replies pejoratively and aggressively, mentioning that such discussions should take place early in the day, and expresses anger at the matchmakers' late arrival. He explains how he and his wife were busy with household chores in the morning and have been worried because their daughter was missing. He claims that Grags pa, the boy's father, must be deliberately making trouble, and makes reference to the fact that despite the customary ways to propose a marriage, Grags pa has instead stolen his daughter. He concludes by refusing to agree to the marriage.

The bride's father's brother then states that both families have a history of good relations extending across several generations. He emphasizes that, despite the families' good relations, Sgrol ma, the girl, is the only daughter remaining in the home and thus must stay home to care for her elderly parents. He says that if Grags pa had wanted to propose marriage for his son, he should have let everyone know and negotiated openly. The uncle signals that he had not heard anything about the proposal until then, and that he is upset. He also briefly describes his family lineage and says that they are not a family that can easily be bullied. He says that now that the girl has been abducted, he will not agree to the proposal, even though the matchmakers may say that the couple is acting on their own. He states that he is the one who has the most authority over this decision,¹⁴⁷ and goes on to describe how his niece, Sgrol ma, is the most beloved person in their family and has been taken good care of and raised well. The uncle continues saying that the matchmakers are

¹⁴⁷ Traditionally, the girl's paternal uncles or paternal grandfather are the most respected and decide the marriage.

good people, so he will not go on and make them uncomfortable, and then reiterates that their marriage proposal is unacceptable. Finally, he mentions that there are many additional relatives in the family who must be consulted on such things, and asks the matchmakers to return on the fifteenth day of the fourth lunar month.¹⁴⁸

The second matchmaker responds, saying that he understands how important the daughter is to the family. He repeats that the youths have made their own decision and no one is to blame. He also explains apologetically that the matchmakers arrived somewhat late due to the long distance between their homes. He expresses his gratitude to the uncle for setting a time for another negotiation. He finishes by saying that even though an agreement is not assured, it is good to have further negotiation.

The bride's father then says that it is his daughter's fate, and he is unsure what decision to make, but that he will gather important relatives and discuss it with them.

Finally, it is agreed that the matchmakers will return for a third negotiation. At that time, many of the boy's male relatives gather and negotiate. The matchmakers agree to let the bride return home as soon as there is any indication of agreement, at which time the bride is escorted back to her natal home by a matchmaker.

MATCHMAKERS ESCORT THE BRIDE HOME

Early the following morning, a matchmaker escorts the bride back to her parents' home. As she leaves, the boy's family ties a white *kha btags* to the bride's hair, indicating that she is an abducted bride. Only abducted brides wear such a sign. She also wears the clothes and ornaments given by the boy's family, who are now confident that she will not have a change of heart.

The whole family comes outside as soon as the matchmaker and bride reach the bride's home. The bride's mother embraces her and weeps. The matchmaker is warmly taken into the house while the mother and other female members accompany the bride to another room. This time, the bride's father and the matchmaker mostly discuss matters unrelated to the engagement. The matchmaker does not stay longer than an hour.

The second matchmaker's speech:

¹ ངས་བྱ་མོ་བྱེད་ཀྱིས་ལག་པ་ལྟར་བྱིད་ཡོང་།

² བྱ་མོར་སྒྲིགས་དམོད་འདྲ་བྱེད་མི་ཉན།

¹⁴⁸ Auspicious days are chosen based on the Tibetan calendar.

³འདི་འཇིག་རྟེན་བོད་ལ་དཔེ་མེད་ལ།
⁴ས་ནག་ཐང་ལ་ལམ་མེད་ནི་ཞིག་མ་རེད།
⁵དེ་མ་གཏོགས་བཤད་སྐྱེ་ཆེན་པོ་མེད།

¹ngas bu mo khyed kyis bshad pa ltar khrid yong
²bu mor sdig dmod 'dra byed mi nyan
³'di 'jig rten bod la dpe med la
⁴sa nag thang la lam med ni zhig ma red
⁵de ma gtogs bshad rgyu chen po med

The bride's father's speech:

¹དེ་རིང་གི་ཉི་མའི་ཁ་མགོ་ར།
²བུ་མོ་ཕྱིར་སྤོང་སྐྱེ་དེ་རེད།
³དེ་རིང་བདེ་འཇགས་ངང་ཐོན་བཏང་ན།
⁴ངས་ཕྱིགས་དམོད་བྱེད་ནི་མ་རེད།

¹de ring gi nyi ma'i kha mgo rnga
²bu mo phyir sprod rgyu de red
³de ring bde 'jags ngang thon btang na
⁴ngas sdigs dmod byed ni ma red

SUMMARY

When the bride is brought back home as requested, the matchmaker reminds the bride's father that abduction is a local custom, so he should not scold his daughter.

In return, the bride's father says today is the day his daughter returned home, and now that she is back, he will not scold anyone.

Concluding the speech, the bride's father remind the matchmaker that he must now solicit opinions about the negotiation from his key relatives, most of whom are elders. Since these elders have experienced many negotiations, they do not talk much. Instead, they directly say if they agree or not. Finally, the matchmaker suggests that the matchmakers return for the next negotiation.

Before the 1980s, most locals traveled long distance several times to negotiate, however, this has changed because of cell phones. Many issues are decided over the phone and long periods of travel are avoided unless it is the first negotiation or an important issue arises, such as the youths' changing their mind or someone from either side refusing.

When the matchmaker leaves, mostly female relatives cluster around the daughter who was abducted and ask her about the boy's family and her impressions.

DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE BRIDE'S RELATIVES

After no more than a week, the bride's father invites his important elder relatives to his home. Maternal relatives usually do not participate. The bride's brother says that Grags pa's family proposed to Sangs rgyas's daughter, but it was not agreed to. He then states that because they were unsure of what to do next, they asked all the relatives to meet for a discussion.

The bride's father's brother's speech:

¹ དེ་རིང་སྟོང་རི་ཆེན་སྐུག་གིས་བཟུང་ཡོད་གི

² བཟུང་མགོ་རུས་མགོ་རྒྱུ་འདྲུས་ཡོད་གི

¹ de ring stod ri chen smug gis bzung yod gi

² bza' mgo rus mgo rkang 'dus yod gi

³ ངས་ལྟ་སྟངས་ཤིག་བཤད་ན།

⁴ འཇིག་རྟེན་སོ་རྟེན་གང་ལ་མཚན་ན།

³ ngas lta stangs shig bshad na

⁴ 'jig rten so rnying gang la mtshon na

⁵ སྐན་སྐྱ་རིང་མ་དང་ལྷོ་ལྷུང་མ་ཟེར་ནི་རེད།

⁶ བྱེ་མ་ལེབ་ཅེ་འཕུར་ལ་ཁལ།

⁷ སྐུག་གི་རི་བོང་འགོ་ལ་ཁལ།

⁸ ལུ་མོ་ཚང་འདི་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནི་རེད།

⁵ sman skra ring ma dang blo thung ma zer ni red

⁶ phye ma leb tse 'phur la khal

⁷ khug gi ri bong 'bro la khal

⁸ bu mo tshang 'di 'dra zhig yin ni red

⁹ སྐན་ཆོན་གཉིས་ལ་མཚན་ནའང་ཁག་ཅིང།

¹⁰ ལྟ་བོར་བྱིས་དང་མ་བོར་བྱིས་ཅིས།

⁹rgan rgon gnyis la mtshon na'ang khag med

¹⁰rta bor gyi sga dang ma bor gyi sems

¹¹ཁྱེད་ཚོས་བཤད་པ་ཚད་མ་གོ་སོང་། འུ་ཚོ་སུ་ཡིན་ཡང་།

¹²མི་དོན་མིག་གིས་རིག་མྱོང་།

¹³རང་བྱུང་དོན་དུ་བབས་མྱོང་།

¹¹khyed tshos bshad pa tshang ma go song 'u tsho su yin yang

¹²mi don mig gis rig myong

¹³rang bya don du babs myong

¹³བུ་མོར་ཀུན་གྱིས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རེ་བཞག་ཡོད་ནི་རེད། ཡིན་ཡང་།

¹⁴འདི་བསམ་སར་མ་སོང་བསགས་ཐལ།

¹⁵མོས་ཚོ་བ་མང་པོ་འདི་ཚོའི་ནང་ནས།

¹⁶གྲགས་པ་ཚད་ལ་འགྲོ་བྱུ་བྱེད་ན།

¹⁷ངས་བལྟས་ན་ཉེ་པོའི་ཉེ་རྒྱུད་ཅན་ཞིག་རེད།

¹⁸མཆེད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཅན་ཞིག་རེད།

¹³bu mor rgan rgon gnyis kyis re bzhag yod ni red yin yang

¹⁴'di bsam sar ma song bsags thal

¹⁵mos tsho ba mang po 'di tsho'i nang nas

¹⁶grags pa tshang la 'gro rgyu zer na

¹⁷ngas bltas na nye po'i nye rgyud can zhig red

¹⁸mched pa'i lo rgyus can zhig red

¹⁹འདི་རང་དབང་རང་འཐད་ཡིན་པའི་ཆ་ནས།

²⁰འདི་འདྲའི་སེམས་སུ་མདའ་བཞག་ནས།

²¹མི་འདྲའི་སེམས་སུ་སྒྲག་བཞག་ན། མ་རེད་བསམ།

¹⁹'di rang dbang rang 'thad yin pa'i cha nas

²⁰'di 'dra 'dra'i sems su mda' bzhag nas

²¹mi 'dra'i sems su sdug bzhag na ma red bsam

²²འུ་ཚོ་ཡང་ཀླད་པོ་བསམ་ཤེས་རེད།

²³སྤྱིར་བུ་བུ་མོ་ལ་གཉེན་དང་ཐོད་པའི་ཁ་ཡིག་ཡོད་ནས།

²⁴ཚོར་དང་སྤྱིར་པའི་སྐལ་གནས་ཡོད་ན།

22 'u tsho yang rgad po bsam shes red
23 spyir bu bu mo la gnyen dang thod pa'i kha yig yod nas
24 tshong dang srid pa'i skal gnas yod na

25 བྱ་ཁྱུག་གཤམ་ན་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སྦྱིད་དགོས།

26 ལྷ་བཞི་པ་ཆོས་ན་ས་གཞི་དྲོད་དགོས།

25 bya khu byug grag na rgyal khams skyid dgos
26 zla bzhi pa tshes na sa gzhi dro dgos

27 རིགས་རྒྱལ་གང་སྦྱིས་ལྷ་མ་རེད།

28 བྱ་ཁྱུག་གང་སྦྱེར་པ་མ་རེད།

27 rigs drug gang skyes bla ma red
28 bu phrug gang ster pha ma red

29 གོས་གོང་བས་མ་འབྲུག་བློ་འཆམས།

30 ཡུལ་པ་མས་མ་གོ་གཉེན་བསྒྲིགས།

29 gos gong bas ma 'thum bro 'chams
30 yul pha mas ma go gnyen bsgrigs

31 གོམས་པའི་ལམ་འདི་བཙལ་བཏང་ན།

32 རང་དབང་རང་འཐད་འདི་གལ་ཆེན་ཅི་རེད།

33 སྦྱིད་རྒྱས་ལ་ལྷགས་ཆེན་ཅི་རེད།

34 མཐའ་འབྲུག་འུ་ཆོས་ངོ་མོག་བྱས་ཀྱང་ཐུབ་ནི་མ་རེད།

31 goms pa'i lam 'di btsal btang na
32 rang dbang rang 'thad 'di gal che ni red
33 srid jus la shugs che ni red
34 mtha' 'jug 'u tshos ngo log byas kyang thub ni ma red

35 ད་ནཱ་ཚོན་གཉིས་ཡིན་ན།

36 བྱ་ལག་ཆགས་ཡོད་ནི།

37 ཆ་བོ་འདང་ཆེན་ཡོད་ནི།

38 རྒྱ་གཡས་གཡོན་ཡོད་ནི།

39 བྱིན་ཆད་འཆི་ས་འཁོར་ས་ཡོད་ནི་རེད།

35 da rgan rgon gnyis yin na

36 bu lag chags yod gi

37 tsha bo 'dang chen yod gi

38 ru kha g.yas g.yon yod gi

39 phyin chad 'chi sa 'khor sa yod ni red

40 འུ་མོ་ཡུལ་ནས་བཞག་ན་ལན་ཆགས་ཡིན།

41 མག་པ་བཞག་ན་འུ་ཚོ་འཐད་ན་ཁོ་ཚོ་མི་འཐད།

42 ཁོ་ཚོ་འཐད་ན་འུ་ཚོ་མི་འཐད།

40 bu mo yul nas bzhag na lan chags yin

41 mag pa bzhag na 'u tsho 'thad na kho tsho mi 'thad

42 kho tsho 'thad na 'u tsho mi 'thad

43 དེང་སང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སྤང་གི་གསར་བུ་འབྱུང་པོ།

44 སྤྱི་རིང་བ་ཅན་པོ་ཁོང་ཁྱོད་ཐུང་ཐུང་ཅན་པོ།

45 དུ་བ་དང་ཆང་གིས་འཚོ་བ་རོལ་གྱིན་པ།

46 ཤོ་དང་རྒྱན་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ལས་བཞིན་པ།

47 དེ་འདྲ་དང་རང་དབང་རང་འཐད་ཡིན་ཟེར་ན།

48 དེ་ལན་ཆགས་ཡིན། ང་ཡིན་ན། དོན་དག་མི་སྣུག་བྱིན་འཛོག་

43 deng sang spyi tshogs steng gi gsar bu 'khyam po

44 skra ring ba can po khong khro thung thung can po

45 du ba dang chang gis 'tsho ba rol gyin pa

46 sho dang rgyan gyi bya ba las bzhin pa

47 de 'dra dang rang dbang rang 'thad yin zer na

48 de lan chags yin nga yin na don dag mi snog byin 'jog

The bride's father's agreement:

1 ངོ་མ་རེད། ཁྱེད་ཚོའི་ཡན་ན་དབང་ཆེན་དང་།

2 རྫོའི་ཡན་ན་ལྷིད་མོ་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད། དེས་ན་ཁ་ཐོག་དེར་འཛོག་ཡ།

1 ngo ma red khyod tsho'i yan na dbang chen dang

2 rdo'i yan na ljid mo yod ni ma red da yin na kha thog der 'jog ya

SUMMARY

The girl's father's brother says that at a fundamental level, girls' minds are fickle, and it is therefore excusable that the daughter left her parents to marry a man from the family of a good tribe with whom they have good relations. He goes on to argue that since the two youths have already eloped, scolding is useless. He reminds everyone that the couple are old enough, and that as voluntary marriage complies with the law, nobody can successfully oppose it. He laments that it is unlikely for a groom to marry and move into his wife's home nowadays because many boys are alcoholics and gamblers. In the end, he explains that he will not oppose the marriage.

The bride's father briefly says that he agrees with the uncle.

If the matchmakers have spoken persuasively, the relatives are very likely to unanimously agree.

Prior to the 1980s, families did not give away their daughters easily. Sometimes the matchmakers had to negotiate up to sixteen times. However, the number of negotiations has gradually diminished so that, in 2015, one to two rounds of negotiation were sufficient, largely because marriage laws give youths the right to choose their own spouses. If two youths are willing to marry, their parents cannot prevent them.

The bride's mother and other relatives listen, while the bride avoids the discussion with such excuses as needing to herd the sheep, sweep the floors of other rooms, go to a neighbor's home to chat, and so on.

The bride's mother usually sheds tears if the discussion has a positive outcome. Her relatives comfort her by saying, for example, that brides always leave their parents' homes.

The negotiation concludes once the bride's father and paternal relatives approve. Finally, the bride's father tells the relatives to return for the third negotiation with the matchmakers.

THE THIRD NEGOTIATION

On the designated day, the matchmakers arrive in the morning, soon followed by relatives of the bride's father and a third negotiation ensues.

AN EXAMPLE OF A THIRD NEGOTIATION

This is an example of the matchmaker's speech:

² དེ་རིང་ཉིན་བཟང་སྐར་བཟང་།
³ བཀ་ཤིས་དོན་འབྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་རེད།
⁴ ལྷཾ་ཚཱ་བྲུ་མོ་འེ་རང་དབང་རང་འཐད་ཀྱི་དོན་དག་འདི་སྒོས་བསྐྱར་ཞིག་བྱེད་བསམ་ནི་རེད།

² de ring nyin bzang skar bzang
³ bkra shis don 'grub kyi nyi ma red
⁴ 'u tshos bu bu mo'i rang dbang rang 'thad kyi don dag 'di gros bsdur
 zhig byed bsam ni red

⁵ འདི་དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་མེ་ཏོག་འབྲུངས་ན།
⁶ དུས་བཞི་ཡི་རྒྱལ་མོས་རིག་དགོས།

⁵ 'di dus gsum gyi me tog 'khrungs na
⁶ dus bzhi yi rgyal mos rig dgos

⁷ དབྱས་སེར་པོ་བསམ་ཡས་བཞེངས་ན།
⁸ མྱད་ལུང་པས་གོ་དགོས་ནི་རེད།

⁷ dbus ser po bsam yes bzhengs na
⁸ smad lung pas go dgos ni red

⁹ གྲགས་པ་ཚང་དང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གཉིས་ལ་མཚོན་ན།
¹⁰ ལྷ་མིའི་བར་ན་འཕྲིན་པ་ཡོད།
¹¹ ལྷ་ཤིང་བར་ན་འབྱོར་ཅི་ཡོད།

⁹ grags pa tshang dang sangs rgyas tshang gnyis la mtshon na
¹⁰ lha mi'i bar na 'phrin pa yod
¹¹ lha shing bar na 'byor rtsi yod

¹² སྒོན་ཆད་གསུམ་ལ་ཡང་།
¹³ ཉེ་བྱས་ན་འཁྲེགས་ས་འཕྲོད་ས་ཡིན།
¹⁴ མོ་བཏབ་ན་འབྲུངས་ས་སྐྱེ་ས་ཡིན།

¹² sngon chad gsum la yang
¹³ nye byas na 'phregs sa 'phrod sa yin
¹⁴ lo btab na 'khrungs sa skye sa yin

15 ལྷ་མཚན་འདི་ང་ཡིན་ན་བཤད་མི་དགོས་གངས་དཀར་སེམས་ན་ཡོད།

16 འབྲི་མི་དགོས་ཡིག་ཆུང་ངོས་ན་ཡོད་ནི་རེད།

15 rgyu mtshan 'di nga yin na bshad mi dgos gangs dkar sems na yod

16 'bri mi dgos yig chung ngos na yod ni red

17 ལྷྱིར་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་བྱ་བུ་མོའི་དོན་དག་ཅིག་བཅོས་ན་འང་།

18 ལྷྱ་མཐིང་ལྷྱ་ག་ཁ་བྱ་ལྟོར་བསྐྱོར་དགོས།

19 ལྷྱ་ན་བྱ་མོའི་གྲོས་མགོ་གནས་བསྐྱོར་རྒྱ།

20 འདིའི་སྟེང་ལ་སེམས་བཞག་ནས།

21 ད་ཁྱེད་ཆོས་སྐད་ཆ་འགའ་རེ་བཤད་རྒྱ་བྱོས་དང་།

17 spyir 'jig rten gyi bu bu mo'i don dag cig bcos na'ang

18 sbra mthing smug kha ru lhor bskor dgos

19 sman bu mo'i gros mgo gnas skor rgyu

20 'di'i steng la sems bzhag nas

21 da khyed tshos skad cha 'ga' re bshad rgyu byos dang

The bride's father's brother's speech:

1 སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་དང་གྲགས་པ་གཉིས།

2 ལྷིན་དཀར་པོ་ཐོད་ལ་བཟུང་ནས།

3 ཅག་བསེར་བྱ་ཐོང་ལ་བྲང་ནས།

4 ཏྲ་འདོ་བ་ཐོང་རྩལ་ཕྱད་ནས།

5 སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གི་སྟོ་ཁར་ཡོད་ནི་རེད། ཡིན་ན་འང་། བྱ་མོ་མ་བྱིན་ནི་རེད།

1 sangs rgyas tshang dang grags pa gnyis

2 sprin dkar po thod la bzung nas

3 tsag bser bu thong la blang nas

4 rta 'do ba thong rngul phud nas

5 sangs rgyas tshang gi sgo khar yong ni red yin na'ang bu mo ma byin
ni red

6 མང་པོ་བཤད་ན་མདོ་མེད།

7 ལྷ་ཆེན་བཟའ་ན་རབ་མེད།

8 དེ་རིང་ཡིན་ན་འང་། དས་ཚང་མ་འདྲས་ཏེ་བྱ་མོ་སྟེར་བྱས་པའི་ཆེག་བཤད་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

⁶ mang po bshad na mdo med

⁷ chu chen brgal nas rab med

⁸ de ring yin na'ang ngas tshang ma 'dus te bu mo ster byas pa'i tshig
bshad yod ni ma red

The speech by another close older male relative of the bride:

¹ སངས་རྒྱས་དང་གྲགས་པ་གཉིས།

² གདུགས་རྒྱལ་མཆན་སྟེང་གི་རོར་བུ་རེད།

³ གསེར་བུམ་པའི་ཁ་ཡི་ཁ་རྒྱན་རེད།

¹ sangs rgyas dang grags pa gnyis

² gdugs rgyal mtshan steng gi nor bu red

³ gser bum pa'i kha yi kha rgyan red

⁴ ལས་བཅོལ་དང་དུ་སྤངས།

⁵ གཉེན་སྟོན་ཕྱག་ལ་སྤངས།

⁴ las bcol dang du blangs

⁵ gnyen ston phrag la blangs

⁶ ཐང་ཆེན་རུལ་གྱིས་བཅད་དེ།

⁷ རི་ཆེན་ཁིས་ཁ་བསྐྱུར་ནས།

⁸ འེ་སྒོ་ཁར་བུད་ནས་གདན་སྟེང་དུ་ཚོག་ན།

⁶ thang chen rdul gyis bcad de

⁷ ri chen khis kha bsgyur nas

⁸ nga'i sgo khar bud nas gdan steng du tsog na

⁹ རྩ་རང་གིས་རྩུང་ན་གྲག་གི་མི་ཟེར།

¹⁰ གཏམ་རང་གིས་བཤད་ན་སྒྲན་གི་མི་ཟེར།

⁹ rnga rang gis rdung na grag gi mi zer

¹⁰ gtam rang gis bshad na snyan gi mi zer

¹¹ སངས་རྒྱས་དང་གྲགས་པ་གཉིས།

¹² བསྐྱལ་བའི་རིང་གི་ཉེ་ཡ་ཡིན།

13 སྤྱིད་པའི་རིང་གི་ཞང་འཛིན་ཡིན།

11 sangs rgyas dang grags pa gnyis

12 bskal ba'i ring gi nye ya yin

13 srid pa'i ring gi zhang 'dzin yin

14 ང་རྒྱུད་པོར་མཆོན་ན།

15 མགོ་བཙོག་རུང་སྤྱི་མ་མཇུག་བྱེད་ཡིན།

16 ཁ་བཙོག་རུང་ཟ་མ་ཟ་བྱེད་ཡིན།

14 nga rgad por mtshon na

15 mgo btsog rung bla ma mjal byed yin

16 kha btsog rung za ma za byed yin

17 བྱེད་གྲགས་པ་ཚང་གི

18 ཁར་སྤྱི་ཀྱི་ཁ་སྤྱི་ཡིན།

19 ལུས་སྤྱི་ཀྱི་ཁ་སྤྱི་ཡིན།

17 khyed grags pa tshang gi

18 khar skyes kyi kha spu yin

19 lus skyes kyi ba spu yin

20 ང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གི་མག་ནན་ཞིག་ཡིན།

21 ང་དཀར་པོ་རི་རྒྱུད་གངས་ཆགས་ཡིན།

22 སེམས་དཀར་པོ་འཇམ་ལོ་ཆགས་ཡིན།

20 nga sangs rgyas tshang gi mag rgan zhig yin

21 nga dkar po ri rgyud gangs chags yin

22 sems dkar po 'o ma zho chags yin

23 རྒྱ་གཉིས་བར་གྱི་ཟམ་པ་ཡིན།

24 རྒྱ་གཉིས་བར་གྱི་འཕྲིན་པ་ཡིན།

23 chu gnyis bar gyi zam pa yin

24 sde gnyis bar gyi 'phrin pa yin

25 ངས་གང་རུང་ལ་འདང་བརྒྱབ་ནི་ཡིན།

26 དེ་མ་གཏོགས། དེང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་ཟེར་ན།

25 ngas gang rung la 'dang brgyab ni yin

26 de ma gtogs nged sangs rgyas tshang zhes na

27 སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གསར་ཉིད་གང་ལ་མཚན་ན།

28 རྒྱ་ལ་འཕྱར་རྒྱ་ཡོད།

29 སྤྱི་ལ་ངོམ་རྒྱ་ཡོད།

27 spyi tshogs gsar rnying gang la mtshon na

28 rgya la 'phyar rgyu yod

29 spun la ngom rgyu yod

30 འུ་བུ་མོས།

31 རང་ལོར་ཁ་བཀལ་ནས།

32 རང་རྟར་སྒྲ་བསྟད་ན།

33 འུ་བུ་མོའི་དོན་དག་མི་རྒྱུ།

34 བྱོད་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་གྲགས་པ་གཉིས།

35 ས་ཀ་ཅུར་ཐོན་པ་དོན་ཡོད།

36 མཛོ་བྱང་དཀར་དེད་པ་མིང་ཡོད།

30 bu bu mos

31 rang lor kha bkal nas

32 rang rtar sga bstad na bu

33 bu mo'i don dag mi rdzob

34 khyod sangs rgyas dang grags pa gnyis

35 sa ka cur thon pa don yod

36 mdzo khyung dkar ded pa ming yod

37 དེང་ཚང་གིས།

38 སྤྱི་མཐུང་སྤྱུག་ཁ་རུ་མྱོ་རུ་བསྐོར།

39 སྤྱི་ལ་འཕྱར་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་གནས་སྤྱི་བསྐོར།

40 དེ་རིང་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ངའི་ཚོ་མོ་སྤྱོལ་མ།

41 གཡང་བླངས་ནས་བྱིན་བཏང་ནི་ཡིན།

37 nged tshang gis
38 sbra mthing smug kha ru lho ru bskor
39 sman bu mo'i thod pa gnas su bskor
40 de ring nas bzung nga'i tsha mo sgrol ma
41 g.yang blangs nas byin btang ni yin

The first matchmaker's reply:

1 སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གིས།
2 ཁ་ཆེན་པོ་རི་ནས་བོས།
3 དབང་ཆེན་པོ་ཡུལ་ནས་བསྐད་དེ།

1 sangs rgyas tshang gis
2 kha chen po ri nas bos
3 dbang chen po yul nas bsdad de

4 བྱ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དང་གྲགས་པ་ཚང་ལ་བསྐྱོར་བ།
5 དེའི་ཡ་མོད་རྟ་ཡིན།
6 མ་མོད་མཛོལ་ཡིན།

4 bu mo sgrol ma nged grags pa tshang la bskor ba
5 nga'i ya thod rta yin
6 ma thod mdzo yin

7 ཉི་མ་སྤ་དུས།
8 མང་དཀྱིལ་སྤ་དུས།
9 བྱ་མོ་འཇམ་ལྷ་སྤངས་ནས།

7 nyi ma snga dus
8 thang dkyil sngo dus
9 bu mo'i g.yang blangs nas

10 གསེར་སྤང་སྟོང་གི་མི་ཞིག་བྱིན་ན།
11 རིན་བྱིན་ནས་ཁོང་ཁོང་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་དང་།
12 ཁོང་བཅད་ནས་ཁྱུ་ཁོང་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

10 gser srang stong gi mi zhig byin na
11 'rin byin nas long song zer rgyu dang

¹² gong bcad nas khug song zer rgyu yod ni ma red

¹³ ཡིན་ན་འང་བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་ལ་དཔེ་ལམ་འཕྲང་གསུམ་ཞིག་ཡོད་གི།

¹³ yin na'ang bod kha ba can la dpe lam 'phrang gsum zhig yod gi

¹⁴ བུ་བུ་མོ་འི་གཉེན་སྟོན་ཟེར་བ་འདི།

¹⁵ ཏྲ་ར་ར་ཇག་པས་མ་བྱུབ་ནི་ཞིག།

¹⁶ མཛོ་བྱུང་དཀར་གོས་ཀྱིས་མ་ཅོན་ནི་ཞིག།

¹⁴ bu bu mo'i gnyen ston zer ba 'di

¹⁵ rta ra ra jag pas ma thub ni zhig

¹⁶ mdzo khyung dkar gos kyis ma non ni zhig

¹⁷ ཡིན་དགོས་ནི་རེད་མོད།

¹⁸ རེད་ཆང་ལ་མཚོན་ན།

¹⁹ ཟད་པོ་ཏྲ་ལག་པ་སྤང་འདོད་ཀྱི་ཕུ་རུང་བས་ཆ་སྟེན་དེ་འབྲམ་ལྷན་ཐལ།

²⁰ དེ་རིང་བྱུང་ནམ་པ་དགོངས་པ་ཚོམས་མི་ཉན།

¹⁷ yin dgos ni red mod

¹⁸ nged tshang la mtshon na

¹⁹ rgad po da lta lag pa sring 'dod kyi phu rung thung bas cha rkyen de
'dra ma ldan thal

²⁰ de ring khyed rnam pa dgongs pa tshoms mi nyan

²¹ འདི་ན་གོས་སྤྲང་འལ་བཞི་དང་ཕྱག་བཟོ་མགོ་ཞིག།

²² བ་གདན་གཉིས་དང་ཆང་ཤོག་སྒྲམ་གང་ཡོད་པ་འདི།

²³ བུ་མོ་སྟོལ་མ་གཡང་བྲངས་ནས་བྱིན་པ་མ་གཏོགས།

²⁴ ངས་རིན་བྱིན་ནས་ཉོས་དང་ནི་འབྲམ་ཡིན་ནི་མ་རེད།

²¹ 'di na gos steng 'og bzhi dang phrug bzo mgo zhig

²² ba gdan gnyis dang chang shog sgam gang yod pa 'di

²³ bu mo sgrol ma g.yang blangs nas byin pa ma gtogs

²⁴ ngas rin byin nas nyos dang ni 'dra 'dra yin ni ma red

²⁵ འདི་སྒྲ་མོ་བདེ་མོ་བྱས་པ།

²⁶ མང་པོ་ཉུང་ཉུང་བྱས་བར་བཀའ་བྲིན་ཆེ།

²⁵ 'di sla mo bde mo byas pa
²⁶ mang po nyung nyung byas bar bka' drin che

²⁷ དེ་རིང་རྟགས་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འགོ་མ།
²⁸ བུ་བུ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཉེན།
²⁹ མཚོན་ཁ་འཕངས་ནས།

²⁷ de ring rtags rten 'brel gnyis kyi 'go ma
²⁸ bu bu mo gnyis kyi gnyen
²⁹ mchod kha 'phangs nas

³⁰ བརྒྱ་བཤད་ནས་བརྒྱད་ལ་གཏུགས།
³¹ བརྒྱད་བཤད་ནས་གཅིག་ལ་གཏུགས།

³⁰ brgya bshad nas brgyad la gtugs
³¹ brgyad bshad nas gcig la gtugs

³² ཆང་བདུད་རྩི་ལྟོ་མཚོན་ཁ་མ་འཕངས་གོང་།
³³ ལུ་ཚོ་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཅི་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན་བཤད་པར་ངའི་རེ་བ་ཡིན།
³⁴ དེ་མ་གཏོགས་ང་ལ་ཆེན་པོ་བཤད་རྒྱ་མེད།

³² chang bdud rtsi'i mchod kha ma 'phangs gong
³³ 'u tsho bshad rgyu ci zhid yod na bshad par nga'i re ba yin
³⁴ de ma gtogs nga la chen po bshad rgyu med

The second matchmaker's reply:

¹ ཨ་ཁང་ཚས་ད་ཀྱི་ཚས་ཀྱི་ཕྱགས་ནས་ཅིག་བཤད་ན།

² a zhang tshos da gyon chas kyi phyogs nas cig bshad na

A zhang's response:

¹ ཁ་ཀྱི་ཚས་ཀྱི་སྟེང་ནས། འདི་ཆན་ཚོན་གཉིས་ལ་མཚོན་ན། བུ་མོ་གཅིག་ཕྱ་རེད།

¹ kha gyon chas kyi steng nas 'di rgan rgon gnyis la mtshon na bu mo
gcig pu red

² དེ་མིག་བྲ་རིལ་ནང་གི་རྩོལ་ན།

³ སོ་སུམ་བཅུའི་སྟེང་གི་ལེ་ཡིན།

² de mig khra ril nang gi rno yin

³ so sum bcu'i steng gi lce yin

⁴ གྲགས་པ་ཆང་དང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཆང་ལ་མཚན་ན།

⁵ ཕག་ན་བཟླ་ནི་བཟླ་ནི་ཡོད།

⁶ བྱེད་ཆང་ལ་བཤད་དགོས་ནི་མ་རེད།

⁷ བྱ་མོ་ཡིན་ན་ད་བར་དུ་བྱུང་གཅིག་ལ་འང་མ་བྱིན་པར་བྱེད་ཆང་ལ་བྱིན་ནི་རེད།

⁴ grags pa tshang dang sangs rgyas tshang la mtshon na

⁵ phag na blta ni brtag ni yod

⁶ khyed tshang la bshad dgos ni ma red

⁷ bu mo yin na da bar du khyim gcig la'ang ma byin par khyed tshang
la byin ni red

⁸ བྱིར་མིག་གི་བཟླ་ས་ཡིན།

⁹ ལག་པ་ཁེན་ས་ཡིན།

⁸ phyir mig gi blta sa yin

⁹ lag pa khen sa yin

¹⁰ བྱ་མོས་འདི་ལྟར་ལམ་བཅོལ་བཏང་ན།

¹¹ འཕྲིན་ན་ཡང་ཆོ་གཅིག་གི་ཨ་ཞང་རེད།

¹² ངས་དཀར་པོ་ཆོས་ལ་ཡར་དད་བྱེད།

¹³ སྐྱུ་པོ་གཉིས་ལ་ཡར་རྟོགས་བརྒྱས།

¹⁴ བྱིན་པའི་སྟེང་ནས་དེ་རིང་འདི་ལྟར་བཤད་ན། བྱ་པ་གཉིས་ལ།

¹⁰ bu mos 'di ltar lam btsal btang na

¹¹ nga yin na yang tshe gcig gi a zhang red

¹² ngas dkar po chos la yar dad byed

¹³ smug po gnyen la yar rtogs brgyag

¹⁴ gyon pa'i steng nas de ring 'di ltar bshad na 'u kha gnyis la

15 མི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐག་ཏེ་པོ་མིག་ཡིན།

16 ཐག་རིང་པ་རྣ་ཡིན།

15 mi thams cad thag nye po mig yin

16 thag ring pa rna yin

17 རོད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་ཞེན།

18 ཀ་ཡི་དགྱིལ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

19 ཀོ་ཡི་གཞོང་ཞིག་ཡིན།

17 nged sangs rgyas tshang zhe na

18 ka yi dkyil zhig yin

19 go yi gzhong zhig yin

20 ཅན་དན་སྦྱིས་བའི་ར་ལག་ཅིག་ཡིན།

21 བྱ་རུ་དམར་རྒྱུང་འཛོར་བའི་འཛོར་ཤལ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

20 tsan dan skyes ba'i ra lag cig yin

21 byu ru dmar chung 'thor ba'i 'thor shul zhig yin

22 བྱེད་ཚང་ཡང་།

23 ཚོ་བ་མང་པོའི་ནང་ནས།

24 བརྒྱ་ཡི་ནང་ནས་འདེམས་ཏེ།

25 བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་བྲངས་ནི་ཡིན།

22 khyed tshang yang

23 tsho ba mang po'i nang nas

24 brgya yi nang nas 'dems te

25 brgyad kyi nang nas blangs ni yin

26 དེ་ཡིན་ན་ངས་ཡང་སྐུ་མ་སྦྱོར་མ་དང་།

27 བྱ་རུ་འཁོར་མ་ཞེས་བཤད་ནི་མ་རེད།

26 de yin na ngas yang sram gyi skyor ma dang

27 byu ru'i khen ma zhes bshad ni ma red

²⁸ ཏྲ་ཞིག་གི་ཚུགས་ཀ་དང་།

²⁹ སྒྲ་ཞིག་གི་ཅ་ལས་ཚང་ནི་ཞིག་

³⁰ མིས་མི་འབྲུ་ནི་ཞིག་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་དས་བྱེད་ཚང་གི་སྤྱང་ཐོར་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཡི་ཁལ་བཀལ་ནི་ཡིན།

²⁸ da rta zhig gi tshugs ka dang

²⁹ sga zhig gi ca lag tshang ni zhig

³⁰ mis mi 'phyas ni zhig byed rgyu ngas khyed tshang gi glang bor rin
po che yi khal bkal ni yin

The first matchmaker's reply:

¹ འུ་ཚོས་བཤད་ལས་ཚར་ཐལ། བཏོན་ནས་འགྲུབ་ཐལ།

² ད་བུ་མོའི་ཁ་འགོ་རྩ་ལུ་བའི་ཆོས་ལྷ་ལ་བྱེད་ཡོང་ན་ཨོ་ཚོག་

³ བྱེད་རྩམ་པས་གྲོས་ཤིག་བྱོས།

¹ 'u tshos bshad las tshar thal bton nas 'grub thal

² da bu mo'i kha 'go rnga zla bcu ba'i tshes lnga la khyer yong na e
chog gi

³ khyed rnam pas gros shig byos

A zhang's reply:

¹ ཚོག་ནི་རེད། དེ་ཉིན་བཟང་སྐར་བཟང་ཞིག་རེད།

¹ chog ni red de nyin bzang skar bzang zhig red

The first matchmaker's reply:

² བྱ་རྒྱུད་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་ཅི་ཚང་ན།

³ བྱིའུ་ཆར་མ་ཞིག་ལ་འང་དེ་ཚང་དགོས་ནི་རེད།

² bya rgod po zhig la ci tshang na

³ byi'u zhar ma zhig la'ang de tshang dgos ni red

⁴ བསམ་འཆར་རེ་ཡོད་ན་བཤད་རྒྱུ་གལ།

⁴ bsam 'char re yod na bshad rgyu gal

A zhang's reply:

¹ བཤད་རྒྱུ་ལྷག་པ་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

² སྤྱིར་གཉིན་མ་བྱས་གོང་མི་གཉིས་རེད།

³ བྱས་པའི་དུས་སུ་མི་གཉིས་རེད།

¹ bshad rgyu lhag pa yod ni ma red

² spyir gnyen ma byas gong mi gnyis red

³ byas pa'i dus su mi gcig red

⁴ བུ་མོའི་ཐོག་ལ་མཛོམས།

⁵ ག་བཟན་ཐོག་ལ་ག་པགས། དགོས་ནི་མ་རེད། བུ་མོ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ཆོས་གསུམ་ལ་བསྐྱལ་རྒྱུ་བྱེད།

⁴ bu mo'i thog la mdzo mo

⁵ sha bzan thog la sha pags dgos ni ma red bu mo rgya lo'i tshes gsum
la bskyal rgyu byed

SUMMARY

The matchmaker describes the brightness and auspiciousness of the day, states that the Grags pa and Sangs rgyas families have a long history of positive relations, and encourages the members of the bride's family to further discuss the possibility of this marriage.

The *A zhang* says that although several discussions were held and the matchmakers attempted to negotiate several times, the daughter was not yet given in marriage. He emphasizes that even though many people are gathered, he has not yet approved anything.

Next, another older male relative of the bride's father reaffirms the good relationship between the families. He says that both families have negotiated and discussed the pros and cons of the marriage proposal many times. He states that he has negotiated between the two families with a pure mind, and finally approves the marriage.

The matchmaker replies that he is thankful that all the significant relatives have gathered to make the decision and declares that a daughter cannot be purchased and, if she could, the price would be too high anyway. He goes on to state that, according to traditional custom, he has brought four different types of *gos* 'clothing', a set of *phrug* 'wool fabric', two felt carpets, and a bottle of liquor as gifts, but not as payment for the bride. He thanks the family for agreeing to accept such simple gifts, and finally asks them if they have further comments.

Photo 140. Sets of *phrug* for making *phrug lwa*.



The second matchmaker reminds the *A zhang* to stipulate the clothing requirements for the new bride.

An *A zhang* then replies that Sgrol ma is the only, and much-cherished daughter in the groom's family. He also reminds everyone that many people will be watching what happens between their families and gossiping about it. He states that since Srgol ma is to be engaged, and because he strongly supports the marriage, he does not demand many expensive ornaments and clothes. He concludes by emphasizing that nonetheless, the clothes that they give should be acceptable and not something that others would denigrate.

The first matchmaker replies, saying that the negotiation has now been successfully concluded. He requests that the bride's clothing be provided on the fifth day of the tenth lunar month.

The *A zhang* agrees, as that is an auspicious day, and because the matchmaker stated that the family will provide acceptable clothes. He asks others for comments.

The other *A zhang* states that there are no more comments and confirm that they would like to hold the wedding on the third day of the first lunar month.

AN AGREEMENT RITUAL

If the negotiation is successful, both families agree to the marriage. Traditionally, incense is burned by a member of the bride's family, and a bottle of liquor is poured into a bowl and then liquor is flung in

the directions of local holy mountains. This bottle of liquor should be from the bride's home. If the boy is moving into the bride's home, the bottle of alcohol should be from his natal family. It is opened by the oldest man from the bride's family. The liquor is then aspersed¹⁴⁹ in the directions where local mountain deities are believed to dwell. Meanwhile, men loudly chant the following incense scripture:

CLEANSING OFFERING¹⁵⁰

¹མཚོད་ཨོ་ཨུ་རྩྱི། མཚོད་ཨོ་ཨུ་རྩྱི། མཚོད་ཨོ་ཨུ་རྩྱི། ²མཚོད་བླ་མ་ཡི་དམ། ³སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་མཆས།
⁴དཔའ་བོ་མཁའ་འགོ། ⁵ཆོས་རྒྱུད་སྤུང་མ། ⁶ཡུལ་ལྷ་གཞི་བདག་ ⁷དབུ་མགོ་ནག་གི་སྤྱབས་རེ་ས། ⁸གནམ་གོང་
མ་རྒྱལ་མོ། ⁹གནམ་ས་པ་མ་རྒྱན་རྩེ། ¹⁰ས་བརྒྱབ་བ་ཐོབ་ཀི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཨ་ཁྱེས་མ་ཆེན། ¹¹མ་མགོ་རྩྱེད་དང་ཨ་
བརྒྱ། ¹²མ་རིགས་སུམ་བརྒྱ་དྲག་ཅུ། ¹³མ་དོས་ཀྱི་དག་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ། ¹⁴མ་རྩོན་མོ་ཡུལ་གྱི་བར་གསུམ་ཀྱི་གནས་
ཡུལ་གཞི་བདག་

¹ mchod oM AH hU~M mchod oM AH hU~M mchod oM AH hU~M
² mchod bla ma yi dam ³ sangs rgyas byang sems ⁴ dpa' bo mkha' 'gro
⁵ chos skyong srung ma ⁶ yul lha gzhi bdag ⁷ dbu mgo nag gi skyabs re
sa ⁸ gnam gong ma rgyal mo ⁹ gnam sa pha ma rgan rgon ¹⁰ sa bcu ba
thob ki sangs rgyas a myes rma chen ¹¹ rma mgo stong dang lnga brgya
¹² rma rigs sum brgya drug cu ¹³ rma ngos kyi dgra lha bcu gsum ¹⁴ rma
sngon mo yul gru bar gsum gyi gnas yul gzhi bdag

¹རྩ་གངས་རི་དཀར་མོའི་ཅེ་ཡི་དབུས་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ²གཡལ་མ་རྩོན་མོའི་གདན་སྟེང་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ³ཕ་
བོང་དཀར་པོའི་ཁྱི་སྟེང་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ⁴རྟ་ར་རའི་ཆེབས་པ་བཅེབས་ནས། ⁵གོས་མང་ནག་གི་ན་བཟའ་
མནའས་ནས། ⁶ཁམས་གསུམ་དབང་དུ་སྤྱད་ནས། ⁷དབྲ་བགེགས་ཆོམས་ལ་ཕབ་ནས། ⁸དབྲ་སྲིན་པོ་དམ་ལ་
འདྲིགས་པ། ⁹བྱང་འདུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བོ་བྲག་དཀར། ¹⁰མ་འདབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བོ་བྲག་དཀར།

¹ rdza gangs ri dkar mo'i rtse yi dbus na bzhugs nas ² g.ya' ma sngon
mo'i gdan steng na bzhugs nas ³ pha bong dkar po'i khri steng na
bzhugs nas ⁴ rta ra ra'i chibs pa bcibs nas ⁵ gos rmang nag gi na bza'
mnabs nas ⁶ khams gsum dbang du sdud nas ⁷ dgra bgegs choms la
phab nas ⁸ dgra srin po dam la 'dogs pa ⁹ byad 'dul gyi rgyal bo brag
dkar ¹⁰ rma 'dabs kyi rgyal bo brag dkar

¹⁴⁹ Liquor is poured in a bowl and flung. Sometimes it is flicked with the fingers in the directions of local deities.

¹⁵⁰ Provided by Gsang sgrog.

¹ རྒྱུ་ཕྱོགས་པ་བོང་ལུང་བའི་སྐུ་མཁར་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ² འཇའ་ཚོན་སྐུ་ལྷའི་གྲུང་ཁང་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ³ རྩ་
ཡིད་བཞིན་ཅོར་བུའི་བྱི་སྤེང་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ⁴ ས་གསེར་བྱེ་མ་འབབ་པའི་དོ་ཁྲག་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ⁵ གནམ་
ལྷགས་ཐོག་གི་མཁར་ནང་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ⁶ སྔ་རྒྱུང་འབྲུག་གི་རྩ་བར་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ⁷ དམ་ཅན་སྦྱེས་བུ་ཆེན་
པོ། ⁸ སྦྱེས་མཚོག་རྩེ་རྒྱུ་ལེགས་པ། ⁹ སྦྱེས་མཚོག་མགར་བ་ནག་པོ་དམ་ཅན་རྩེར་ལེགས། ¹⁰ པ་ཁུའི་སྦྱེས་ལྷ་རིམ་
སུམ་བསང་རི་མཐོན་པོ་ལས་དགེ་བསྟན་དྲུང་རི་དཀར་པོ། ¹¹ རྩ་མང་བའི་ཆེབས་པ་བཅེབས་ནས། ¹² བྱེད་རྣམ་པ་
ཆོའི་ཞལ་དུ་མཆོད་ནས། ¹³ མཆོད་ཨོྩ་ཨུྩ།

¹ nub phyogs pha bong lung ba'i sku mkhar na bzhugs nas ² 'ja' tshon
sna lnga'i gur khang na bzhugs nas ³ rdo yid bzhin nor bu'i khri steng
na bzhugs nas ⁴ sa gser phyed ma 'bab pa'i do khug na bzhugs nas
⁵ gnam lcags thog gi mkhar nang na bzhugs nas ⁶ pho chung 'brug gi
rwa bar na bzhugs nas ⁷ dam can skyes bu chen po ⁸ skyes mchog rdo
rje legs pa ⁹ skyes mchog mgar ba nag po dam can rdor legs ¹⁰ pha
khu'i skyes lha rim sum bsang ri mthon po las dge bsnyen dung ri
dkar po ¹¹ rta mang bo'i chibs pa bcibs nas ¹² khyed rnam pa tsho'i zhal
du mchod nas mchod ¹³ oM AH hU~M

¹ པ་ཁུའི་སྐུ་རི། ² མ་གཅིག་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྐྱོམ། ³ བསྟན་པའི་ཆོས་སྦྱོང་སྤྱང་མ། ⁴ བན་འབྲུ་བརྒྱུ་ཡི་བདག་པོ། ⁵ བོན་
འབྲུ་རྩོད་གི་བདག་པོ། ⁶ འཁོར་བཅོཌ་དམག་བྱེ་བ་འབུམ་སྤེ་པ་ཁུའི་སྐུ་རི། ⁷ མ་གཅིག་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྐྱོམ། ⁸ བསྟན་
པའི་ཆོས་སྦྱོང་སྤྱང་མ། ⁹ ས་འདྲིའི་ས་བདག་མཆོད། ¹⁰ གནས་འདྲིའི་གནས་བདག་མཆོད།

¹ pha khu'i bla ri ² ma gcig dpal ldan lha mo ³ bstan pa'i chos skyong
srung ma ⁴ ban 'bru brgya yi bdag po ⁵ bon 'bru stong gi bdag po
⁶ 'khor btsal dmag bye b 'bum sde pha khu'i bla ri ⁷ ma gcig dpal ldan
lha mo ⁸ bstan pa'i chos skyong srung ma ⁹ sa 'di'i sa bdag mchod gnas
'di'i ¹⁰ gnas bdag mchod

¹ རྒྱུ་ཆེན་གྱི་ཁ་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ² རྩེ་ཆེན་གྱི་གྲོང་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ³ རྒྱུ་བོད་གཉིས་གྱི་ས་མཚམས་ན་བཞུགས་
ནས། ⁴ སྔ་བྲང་དཀར་པོའི་ནང་ལྷལ་ན་བཞུགས་ནས། ⁵ རྩེལ་དཀར་ཞབས་ལ་བཅེབས་ནས། ⁶ རྒྱུང་འཁོར་གྱི་
གཤོག་པ་ཐོག་ནས། ⁷ སྐལ་ཅིག་གི་ཡིད་ལ་ཐོན་ནས། ⁸ གཡས་ན་ཤན་པ་རྩ་མགོ། ⁹ གཡོན་ན་ཤན་པ་ཅི་ཐུང་།
¹⁰ རྒྱུར་མཁྱོགས་གྱི་བདག་པོ་ཡུལ་སྐྱ། ¹¹ ཁ་ཤ་མཐིལ་ན་གནས་པའི་ཡུལ་སྐྱ། ¹² ཁྱི་ཀའི་སྔ་བྲང་ན་གནས་པའི་ཡུལ་
སྐྱ།

¹ chu chen gyi kha na bzhugs nas ² sde chen gyi grong na bzhugs nas
³ rgya bod gnyis kyi sa mtshams na bzhugs nas ⁴ pho brang dkar po'i
nang shul na bzhugs nas ⁵ drel dkar zhabs la bcibs nas ⁶ rlung 'khor
gyi gshog pa thog nas ⁷ skal cig gi yid la thon nas ⁸ g.yas na shan pa

rwa mgo ⁹ g.yon na shan pa tsi thung ¹⁰ myur mgyogs kyi bdag po yul
lha ¹¹ kha sha mthil na gnas pa'i yul lha ¹² khri ka'i pho brang na gnas
pa'i yul lha

¹ ལྷོང་གསུམ་ལྷོང་གི་བདག་པོ། ² ལྷོང་གསུམ་སྒོ་གི་ཁེན་མ། ³ ལྷོང་ཆེ་ཨ་ཁྱེས་རྒྱ་ཐང་། ⁴ རྗེ་གཤེར་ཁང་དོན་རྗེ་
འཆང་གིས་བཀའ་བསྟོན་དམ་བཅག་ཡོད་པའི། ⁵ ལྷ་འཇམས་དབྱེད་ནག་པོའི་ཐུགས་སྤྲུལ། ⁶ ཐུགས་སྤྲུལ་ཤིང་མ་
ཐུན་འཛི། ⁷ དབྱ་མི་ཐུབ་པའི་དཔུང་བ་བྱེད་ལ་བསྟན་ནས། ⁸ ཐུབ་མི་ཐུབ་པའི་དཔུང་བ་བྱེད་ལ་བསྟན་ནས། ⁹ ཆན་
སྲི་གཞོན་སྲི། ¹⁰ ཅད་སྒྲ། ¹¹ ཞོད་སྒྲ། ¹² རྩུར་སྒྲ། ¹³ གདོན་སྒྲ་ཡོད་ན་བྱེད་ཀྱིས་པ་རོལ་རྒྱུད་གྲགས་བར་དུ་མཆོམས་
གཙོང་དགོས། ¹⁴ བསྟན་པའི་ལྷ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཆོས་སྦྱོང་སྤྲུང་མ། ¹⁵ ཡི་དམ་ཆོས་སྦྱོང་སྤྲུང་མ། ¹⁶ བྱེད་ནམ་པ་ཚོའི་
ཞལ་དུ་མཆོད། ¹⁷ མཆོད་ཨོྭ་ཨྭ་རྩྱུ། ¹⁸ མཆོད་ཨོྭ་ཨྭ་རྩྱུ།

¹ stong gsum stong gi bdag po ² stong gsum srog gi khen ma ³ stong
che a myes rgya thang ⁴ rje gser khang rdo rje 'ching gis bka' bsgos
dam bzhag yod pa'i ⁵ lha 'jams dbyang nag po'i ⁶ thugs sprul thugs
sprul shing ma thun 'dзи ⁷ dgra mi thub pa'i dpung ba khyed la bstad
nas ⁸ sgrub mi thub pa'i dpung ba khyed la bstad nas ⁹ rgan sri gzhon
sri ¹⁰ nad sna ¹¹ god sna ¹² byur sna ¹³ gdon sna yod na khyed kyis pha
rol rgyang grags bar du mtshams gcod dgos ¹⁴ bstan pa'i lha mkha'
'gro chos skyong srung ma ¹⁵ yi dam chos skyong srung ma ¹⁶ khyed
rnam pa tsho'i zhal du mchod ¹⁷ mchod oM AH hU~M ¹⁸ mchod oM
AH hU~M

SUMMARY

The speaker asperses liquor in the direction of the local deities, then praises them and beseeches them for their protection. The speaker first praises *bla ma*, Buddha, *srung ma*, and then both Bon and Buddhism, mentioning their locations, sources of power, and features. He praises the deities A myes rma chen,¹⁵¹ A myes brag dkar,¹⁵² Dpal ldan lha mo,¹⁵³ and A myes yul lha.¹⁵⁴ Finally, he asks these deities to protect locals from disasters, illnesses, and other misfortunes.

...

Most local Bon practitioners use the following incense scripture when they hold the cleansing offering. The following incense scripture was provided in 2014 by G.yung drung rgyal (b. ~1980), a local Bon adherent.

¹⁵¹ A holy snow mountain in Mgo log Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

¹⁵² A holy mountain located in Mang ra County.

¹⁵³ A guardian deity.

¹⁵⁴ A local deity enshrined in the Yul lha Temple.

¹ རིམ་ལོ་གྲོ་གྲོ་² མཆོད་མེ་ལྷོ་³ མཆོད་བླ་མ་ཡི་དམ་སངས་རྒྱལ་བྱང་སེམས།⁴ མ་སྤྱང་མཁའ་འགྲོ་བོན་སྤྱང་སྤྱང་མ་
ཡུལ་ལྷ་གཞི་བདག

¹ raM yaM khaM ² mchod A+oM hU~M ³ mchod bla ma yi dam sangs
rgyas byang sems ⁴ ma srung mkha' 'gro bon skyong srung ma yul lha
gzhi bdag

⁵ གནམ་འོག་མིན་འདའ་བ་མེད་པའི་ཕོ་བྱང་ནས།⁶ བོན་སྤྱུ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ།⁷ རྗེ་གས་སྤྱུ་གཤེན་ལྷ་འོད་དཀར།
⁸ སྤྱུལ་སྤྱུ་སྤྱོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ།⁹ གཤེན་ཆེན་འཆི་མེད་གཙུག་ཡུང།¹⁰ དཔལ་བོན་སྤྱུ་ལྷ་མེ་འབར།¹¹ རིག་འཛིན་
སྤྱང་རྒྱུ་མཐུ་ཆེན།¹² སྤྱོད་དཔོན་བྲན་པ་ནམ་མཁའ།¹³ སྤྱུ་ཡི་དམ་དབལ་གསལ་རུམ་པ།¹⁴ གསུང་ཡི་དམ་ལྷ་
ཆོད་ཐོག་པ།¹⁵ ཐུགས་ཁྲོ་བོ་གཙོ་མཆོག་མཁའ་འགྲིང་།¹⁶ ཡོན་ཏན་དཔལ་ཆེན་གོ་ཁོད།¹⁷ འཕྲིན་ལས་འབྲུག་
སྤྱུ་ཆེན་པ།¹⁸ སྤྱུ་གྲི་དཀར་ནག་དམར་གསུམ།¹⁹ ཁྲི་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་སྤྱི་འདུལ།

⁵ gnam 'og min 'da' ba med pa'i pho brang nas ⁶ bon sku kun tu bzang
po ⁷ rdzogs sku gshen lha 'od dkar ⁸ sprul sku ston pa gshen rab
⁹ gshen chen 'chi med gtsug phud ¹⁰ dpal bon stag lha me 'bar ¹¹ rig
'dzin stong rgyung mthu chen ¹² slob dpon dran pa nam mkha' ¹³ sku
yi dam dbal gsas rngam pa ¹⁴ gsung yi dam lha rgod thog pa ¹⁵ thugs
khro bo gtso mchog mkha' 'gying ¹⁶ yon tan dpal chen ge khod ¹⁷ 'phrin
las 'brug sras chem pa ¹⁸ spu gri dkar nag dmar gsum ¹⁹ khro rgyal
rag+sha spyi 'dul

²⁰ མ་མཆོག་སྤྱི་དཔའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་དབུ་བརྒྱ་ཡུག་སྤྱང་མ།²¹ རྗེ་དམར་བཀའ་གསང་ལྷ་མོ།²² དམུ་བདུད་འབྲུམས་
པ་ཁྲག་མཐོ།²³ ཆེ་བཙན་དམག་དཔོན་རྒྱལ་བོ།²⁴ ཡལ་ཨ་བསེ་རྒྱལ་བ།²⁵ ཡུམ་ས་སྤུམ་མེ་མོ།²⁶ སྤྱུལ་བྲག་
བཙན་གཡུང་བྱུང་དག་འདུལ།²⁷ སྤྱིང་མོ་བཙན་ལུམ་དམར་མོ།²⁸ སྤྱུ་མོ་རྒྱ་སྤྱོན་ཆེན་མོ།²⁹ གྲི་ཐོགས་ཤར་པ་སྤྱང་
སྤྱུ།³⁰ བཙན་དམག་བྱེ་བ་ས་ཡ།³¹ ཀུན་བཟང་གཤེན་ལྷ་འོད་ཐུགས་སྤྱུལ།

²⁰ ma mchog srid pa'i rgyal mo dbu brgya phyag stong ma ²¹ dre'u
dmar bka' gsang lha mo ²² dmu bdud 'byams pa khrag mgo ²³ che
btsan dmag dpon rgyal bo ²⁴ yab a bse rgyal ba ²⁵ yum sa srung ma mo
²⁶ sras brag btsan g.yung drung dgra 'dul ²⁷ srung mo btsan lcam dmar
mo ²⁸ sru mo klu sman chen mo ²⁹ gri thogs shan pa stong sde ³⁰ btsan
dmag bye ba sa ya ³¹ kun bzang gshen lha'i thugs sprul

³² ས་བཙུའི་དབང་ཡུག་ཆེན་པོ།³³ སྤྱུལ་མཆོག་མ་ཆེན་སྤྱོད་ར།³⁴ ཡལ་མ་རི་ཐེར་འཛིང་།³⁵ ཡུམ་ཆེན་སེ་རི་དང་
ཡག་³⁶ བཙན་མོ་གུང་སྤྱོན་རྒྱལ་མོ།³⁷ སྤྱུལ་པོ་སྤྱུལ་མོ་དགྲུ་དགྲུ་སྤྱོད་མེ་རིགས་སྤུམ་བརྒྱ་བྲག་ཅུ།³⁸ མ་འཁོར་
སྤྱང་དང་བཙས་པ་མ་སྤྱོན་མོ་ཉིན་སྤྱི་བཟང་གསུམ་ལ་གནས་པའི་གཞི་བདག

32 sa bcu'i dbang phyug chen po 33 skyes mchog rma chen spom ra
 34 yab rma ri ther 'dzong 35 yum chen se ri ngang yag 36 btsun mo gung
 sman rgyal mo 37 sras po sras mo dgu dgu sogs rma rigs sum brgya
 drug cu 38 rma 'khor stong dang bcas ba rma sngon mo nyin srib bar
 gsum la gnas pa'i gzhi bdag

39 མོ་ལྷའི་དྲུང་དྲུང་དཀར་པོ། 40 སྒྲ་ལྷའི་གསལ་མཁར་གཞན་པོ། 41 སྒྲ་རི་རབ་བརྟན་ཐོགས་མེད། 42 བན་རུ་
 བརྒྱལི་བདག་པོ། 43 བོན་རུ་སྟོང་གི་བདག་པོ། 44 འཁོར་བཙན་དམག་བྱེ་བ་འབྲུམ་གྱི་བདག་པོ། 45 ལྷས་དག་
 བསྟེན་གྱི་དྲུང་རི་དཀར་པོ། 46 བ་ཁུའི་རིང་གི་སྒྲིམ་ལྷ།

39 pho lha'i dung khyung dkar po 40 sgra bla'i gsas mkhar gnyan po
 41 sgro ri rab brtan thogs med 42 ban ru brgya yi bdag po 43 bon ru
 stong gi bdag po 44 'khor btsan dmag bye ba 'bum gyi bdag po 45 lus
 dge bsnyen gyi dung ri dkar po 46 pha khu'i ring gi skyes lha

47 རྩ་གངས་རི་དཀར་པོའི་རྩེ་ན་བཞུགས་པའི། 48 རྩེ་མོ་བརྟན་གྱི་དྲུང་ན་བཞུགས་པའི། 49 བྱང་འདུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བོ་
 བླ་གཤམ། 50 དམག་འདུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བླ་གཤམ། 51 སྒོ་རྩ་ཁྱེད་པར་ཙན་གྱི་བླ་གཤམ།

47 rdza gangs ri dkar po'i rtse na bzhugs pa'i 48 rtse mo brgyad kyi dbu
 na bzhugs pa'i 49 byad 'dul gyi rgyal bo brag dkar 50 dmag 'dul gyi rgyal
 po brag dkar 51 sgo rtse khyad par can gyi brag dkar

52 འཤར་ཕྱོགས་རྩེ་རིའི་ནང་ལྷལ་ནས། 53 གཡལ་མ་སྟོན་མོའི་མཁར་ནང་ན་བཞུགས་པའི། 54 འཁོར་མི་ནག་རྩ་
 ནག་སྟོང་གི་བདག་པོ། 55 མཐུ་རྩལ་གཙམ་སྒྲགས་ཐོགས་ལས་སྒྲུར་པའི། 56 གཞན་ཆེན་པོ་པོ་བ་རྩོག་པོ།

52 shar phyogs rdza ri'i nang shul nas 53 g.ya' ma sngon mo'i mkhar
 nang na bzhugs pa'i 54 'khor mi nag rta nag stong gi bdag po 55 mthu
 rtsal gnam lcags thogs las myur pa'i 56 gnyan chen po pho ba rog po

57 མ་ཆུ་ཆེན་མོའི་རབ་གྱི་ཁ་ན་བཞུགས་པའི། 58 རྒྱ་བོད་གཉིས་གྱི་ས་མཆམས་ནས། 59 དེའུ་དཀར་རྩེ་ལ་
 བཙེབས་ནས། 60 རྒྱུང་འཁོར་གྱི་ལ་ཤོགས་པ་ཐོགས་ནས། 61 སྒྲ་ཅིག་ཉིད་པ་ཐོན་ནས། 62 གཡལ་ན་འན་པ་རུ་
 འཁོ། 63 གཡོན་ན་འན་པ་ཅི་ལྟར། 64 མདུན་དུ་སྟོན་ཆེན་སྟེ་བཞུ། 65 འཁོར་དུ་བྱན་གཡོག་སྒྲུམ་བུ། 66 ལས་བྱེད་
 རི་ལང་བཅུ་གསུམ། 67 རྒྱུར་མཐུགས་ཙན་གྱི་ཨ་མེས་ལུལ་ལྷ།

57 rma chu chen mo'i rab kyi kha na bzhugs pa'i 58 rgya bod gnyis kyi
 sa mtshams nas 59 dre'u dkar rkang la bcibs nas 60 rlung 'khor gyi
 gshogs pa thogs nas 61 skad cig nyid la thon nas 62 g.yas na shan pa
 rwa 'go 63 g.yon na shan pa tsi thung 64 mdun du blon chen sde bzhi
 65 'khor du bran g.yog sum bcu 66 las byed ri lang bcu gsum 67 myur

mgyogs can gyi a myes yul lha

68 རི་སྡེ་སྤོང་གི་བདག་པོ། 69 དག་བཞགས་ཆམ་ལ་ཕབ་པ་ལེ། 70 ལྷན་གསུམ་ཅན་གྱི་སྤོང་ཆེན་ཨ་ཁྱེས་རྒྱ་ཐང་།
71 བྱེད་རྩམས་ལྷ་གསེན་པོ། 72 ལྷགས་ཐོན་པོ་ཡིན། 73 ཕ་མ་བཞིན་དུ་བཀུར་ན། 74 ལུ་ལྷག་བཞིན་དུ་སྤོངས་དགོས།

68 ri sde stong gi bdag po 69 dgra bgegs cham la phab pa'i 70 spyang
gsum can gyi stong che'i a myes rgya thang 71 khyed rnams lha gson
po 72 thugs dron po yin 73 pha ma bzhin du bkur na 74 bu phrug bzhin
du skyongs dgos

75 བཅོན་པའི་ཆེས་འདེད་མི་ཉན། 76 ལྷག་པའི་སྤོང་ཐོར་འགོ་མི་ཉན། 77 ལག་པའི་ཕྱི་ནང་བརྗེ་མི་ཉན།
78 ལུས་དང་གིབ་མ་བརྗེ་མི་ཉན། 79 ལ་ལག་པ་བཞིན་དུ་ལ་འཛིན་བྱེད་དགོས། 80 ལུས་གིབ་མ་བཞིན་དུ་མགོན་
སྐབས་བྱེད་དགོས། 81 མ་རིག་ཁྲ་ཆེན་མིག་བྱེད་དགོས། 82 མ་གོ་མགོ་ཟུར་ན་བྱེད་དགོས། 83 མ་ཞེས་གངས་
དཀར་སེམས་བྱེད་དགོས། 84 ཡུལ་གི་ཉིན་དཀར་ལྷེ་བྱེད་དགོས། 85 འཐབ་ཀྱི་ཉིན་དཀར་དཔུང་བྱེད་དགོས།
86 ལྷག་གི་ཉིན་དཀར་བང་བྱེད་དགོས།

75 btsan po'i tshig rjes 'ded mi nyan 76 phyug po'i snod ngor 'go mi
nyan 77 lag pa'i phyi nang brje mi nyan 78 lus dang grib ma brje mi
nyan 79 kha lag pa bzhin du kha 'dzin byed dgos 80 lus grib ma bzhin
du mgon skyabs byed dgos 81 ma rig khra chen mig byed dgos 82 ma go
mgo zur rna byed dgos 83 ma shes gangs dkar sems byed dgos 84 bshad
gi nyin dkar lce byed dgos 85 'thab kyi nyin dkar dpung byed dgos
86 rgyug gi nyin dkar bang byed dgos

87 བོས་ན་ཨང་རིང་མི་ཉན། 88 བསྐལ་ན་མ་རྒྱུད་མི་ཉན། 89 བསྐལ་ན་སྐལ་རྒྱུད་མི་ཉན། 90 མིའི་ནད་ཚ་ལྷགས་
གྱི་གོད་ལ། 91 དག་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད། 92 བྱེད་ལུར་ཐོད་གཏོང་། 93 ལ་སྐལ་སྤེད་གཞི། 94 འཐབ་ཅོད་འཁྲག་སྤོང་སྐལས་
བྱེད་མི་ཉན། 95 བསམ་པའི་དོན་འགྲུབ་དགོས། 96 འདོད་པའི་སྤྱེ་གང་དགོས། 97 ལ་ལས་དར་རྒྱུད་ཡོང་མི་ཉན།
98 རྒྱུད་རྟ་ཆག་འཛིག་ཡོང་མི་ཉན། 99 བཅས་ཀྱི་བྱ་ལམ་ལ་འགྲོ་དགོས། 100 རྩན་པའི་སྤོ་ལམ་ལ་འགྲོ་དགོས།

87 bos na ang ring mi nyan 88 bskul na m+wa chung mi nyan 89 bslang
na skal chung mi nyan 90 mi'i nad tsha phyugs kyi god kha 91 dgra sna
gyod sna 92 byad phur rbod gtong 93 kha smras gleng gzhi 94 'thab rtsod
'khrug slong sogs byung mi nyan 95 bsam pa'i don 'grub dgos 96 'dod
pa'i rtse gang dgos 97 kha las dar rgud yong mi nyan 98 rlung rta chag
'jig yong mi nyan 99 bcas kyi bya lam la 'gro dgos 100 dran pa'i blo lam
la 'gro dgos

SUMMARY

The speaker asperses liquor in the direction of local deities, and then praises them and beseeches their protection. Similar to the first incense scripture, the speaker firstly praises *bla ma*, the founder of Bon, *srung ma*, and then both Bon and Buddhism, introducing the locations, sources of power, and features of these glorified ones. Most deity names provided in this recitation are related to Bon and differ from the names in the first recitation. Finally, he asks the deities to protect locals from disasters, illnesses, and other misfortunes.

...

Another incense scripture historically given for the local *lab rtse* previously published by Lcam rig sras (2011:262) is presented below. In 2015, only a few elders could give such a incense scripture.

སྒོ་རི་རབ་བརྟན་ཐོག་མེད་གྱི་བསང་མཆོད་བཞུགས་སོ།

sgro ri rab brtan thogs med kyi bsang mchod bzhugs so

༡ ། གྱེ་ ལྷན་འབྲུབ་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཕྱོད་པ་ནས།² ལྷ་མ་ཡི་དམ་མཆོག་གསུམ་སྤྱང་མའི་ཆོགས།³ མ་ལུས་
བསང་མཆོད་མགོན་དུ་སྤྱན་འབྱེན་ན།⁴ མ་ཐོག་རྩ་འབྲུལ་ཤུགས་ཀྱིས་གནས་འདིར་བྱོན།⁵ ཆོ་རིང་མཆོད་ལྷ་
བསྟན་མ་བརྟུ་གཉིས་སོགས།⁶ བོད་ཁམས་སྤྱོད་ས་པའི་ལྷ་སྤྱུ་གཞི་བདག་དང་།⁷ ཡུལ་སྤྱ་གཉིན་པོ་རབ་བསྟན་
ཐོག་མེད་སོགས།⁸ ལྷོང་གསུམ་གཞི་བདག་མ་ལུས་གནས་འདིར་བྱོན།

¹ kye lhun 'grub bde ba chen po'i pho brang nas ² bla ma yi dam
mchog gsum srung ma'i tshogs ³ ma lus bsang mchod mgron du spyan
'dren na ⁴ ma thog rdzu 'phrul shugs kyis gnas 'dir byon ⁵ tshe ring
mched lnga bstan ma bcu gnyis sogs ⁶ bod khams skyongs ba'i lha klu
gzhi bdag dang ⁷ yul lha gnyan po rab bstan thogs med sogs ⁸ stong
gsum gzhi bdag ma lus gnas 'dir byon

¹ ཁྱིའི་འཛིན་སྤྲུགས་དང་ཕྱག་རྒྱས་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་ས་པའི།² མཆོད་གཏོར་སྤྱན་གཟིགས་སྤྱབ་པའི་བསང་རྩས་ཆོགས།
³ ས་དང་བར་སྤྱང་ནམ་མཁའི་བྱོན་གང་བ།⁴ འབྲུལ་ལོ་བཞེས་ནས་འདོད་དགའི་ཆར་ཆེན་ཕོབས།⁵ སྤྱན་སྤྱུ་
འབྲུ་སྤྱུ་ཤིང་སྤྱུ་གོས་སྤྱུ་སོགས།⁶ བསྟེགས་པའི་དྷི་ཞེས་དུད་པའི་སྤྱིན་པུང་འདིས།⁷ བྱིན་རྒྱལ་ས་གཏོར་མཛོད་རྩ་
བརྟུད་སྤྱུ་མ་བསང་།⁸ གཏོན་གྱི་སྤྱབས་གནས་དཀོན་མཆོག་རྩམ་གསུམ་བསང་།⁹ དངོས་སྤྱབ་ཀྱན་སྤྱོད་ཡི་དམ་
སྤྱུ་ཆོགས་བསང་།¹⁰ རྩམ་འབྱོར་འཕྱིན་ལས་སྤྱབ་པའི་ཆོས་སྤྱོད་བསང་།¹¹ ཡུལ་སྤྱུགས་སྤྱོད་པའི་གཞི་བདག་
ཐམས་ཅད་བསང་།

¹ting 'dzin sngags dang phyag rgyas byin rlabs pa'i ²mchod gtor spyang
gzigz thub pa'i bsang rdzas tshogs ³sa dang bar snang nam mkha'i
khyon gang ba ⁴'bul lo bzhes nas 'dod dgu'i char chen phobs ⁵sman
sna 'bru sna shing sna gos sna sogs ⁶bsregs pa'i dri zhim dud pa'i
sprin phung 'dis ⁷byin rlabs gter mdzod rtsa brgyud bla ma bsang
⁸gtan gyi skyabs gnas dkon mchog rnam gsum bsang ⁹dngos grub
kun stsol yi dam lha tshogs bsang ¹⁰rnam 'byor 'phrin las sgrub pa'i
chos skyong bsang ¹¹yul phyogs skyong ba'i gzhi bdag thams cad
bsang

¹ཁྱེད་པར་རིན་ཆེན་སྤྲུངས་རིལ་གནས་ཤིང་། ²རྩུ་འཕྲུལ་ཤྲགས་ལྷན་རྟེན་མཆོག་ངང་བར་ཆེབས། ³དུར་སྤྲིག་
ཆོལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཆོས་བཞིན་སྦྱངས། ⁴ལྷ་རྩལ་རྩལ་གྱི་ནད་གདོན་ཞི་མཛད་པའི། ⁵ལུལ་ལྷ་རབ་བསྟན་
ཐོགས་མེད་འཁོར་བཅས་བསང་། ⁶ཟག་མེད་བདེ་བའི་དཔལ་གྱིས་ཆེ་གྱུར་ནས། ⁷པན་བདེ་ལོགས་ཆོགས་མ་
ལུས་འབྱུང་བའི་གཞི། ⁸ཕབ་པའི་བསྟན་པ་ཡུན་རིང་གནས་པ་དང་། ⁹བསྟན་པ་འཛིན་པའི་སྤྲེས་བྱུང་མ་པ་
རྣམས། ¹⁰ཞབས་པད་བརྟན་ཞིང་མཛད་འཕྲིན་རྒྱས་པར་མཛོད། ¹¹འཛོམས་སྤྲིང་ཡངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་མཐའ་
དག་ཏུ། ¹²ནད་ལྷག་འཐབ་རྩྭ་སང་སེར་ཐན་པ་སོགས། ¹³མི་ཤེས་མཆོན་མ་འགའ་ཡང་མི་འབྱུང་ཞིང་།
¹⁴འཛིག་རྟེན་བདེ་ལོགས་ཆེན་པོས་བྱུང་པར་མཛོད། ¹⁵སྤྱིར་ནས་རེ་རྟོག་བྱེད་པ་བདག་ཅག་རྣམས། ¹⁶གཞིས་
ལམ་བྱིས་གསུམ་གང་དུ་འདུག་ཀྱང་རུང་། ¹⁷གཡེལ་བ་མེད་པར་རྟག་ཏུ་གྲོགས་མཛད་ནས། ¹⁸འགལ་རྒྱུན་ཀུན་
སེལ་མཐུན་རྒྱུན་མ་ལུས་སྤྲུབས།

¹khyad par rin chen spungs ri la gnas shing ²rdzu 'phrul shugs ldan
rta mchog ngang bar chibs ³ngur smig zol gyis rgyal khams chos
bzhin skyongs ⁴lha rdzas tshul gyi nad gdon zhi mdzad pa'i ⁵yul lha
rab bstan thogs med 'khor bcas bsang ⁶zag med bde ba'i dpal gyis
tshim gyur nas ⁷phan bde legs tshogs ma lus 'byung ba'i gzhi ⁸phab
pa'i bstan pa yun ring gnas pa dang ⁹bstan pa 'dzin pa'i skyes bu dam
pa rnams ¹⁰zhabs pad brtan zhing mdzad 'phrin rgyas par mdzod
¹¹'dzam gling yangs pa'i rgyal khams mtha' dag tu ¹²nad mug 'thab
rtsod sad ser than pa sogs ¹³mi shes mtshan ma 'ga' yang mi 'byung
zhing ¹⁴'jig rten bde legs chen pos khyab par mdzod ¹⁵snying nas re
ltos byed pa bdag cag rnams ¹⁶gzhis lam byes gsum gang du 'dug
kyang rung ¹⁷g.yel ba med par rtag tu grogs mdzad nas ¹⁸'gal rkyen
kun sel mthun rkyen ma lus bsgrubs

¹ཞེས་རིན་ཆེན་སྤྲུངས་རིལ་གནས་བདག་ལ་བསང་མཆོད་འབྲུལ་རྩལ་བྱིས་ཆར་གྱིས་རེ་བ་ཀུན་སྦོང་
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འདི་ནི། ²བོན་སྦོང་དགེ་འདུན་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ལྷ་རྩལ་བཅས་བསྟུལ་དོར། ³སྦོ་མང་མཁན་ཆེན་སྤྲུལ་
མིང་ནི་དགེ་འདུན་བསྟན་པ་དར་རྒྱས་གྱིས་གསལ་ཕྲལ་ཆོག་ཏུ་བྲིས་པ་ལོ།

¹ zhes rin chen spungs ri brag ri'i gnas bdag la bsang mchod 'bul tshul bkris char gyis re ba kun skong zhes bya ba 'di ni ² bon skor dge 'dun bstan 'dzin gyis lha rdzas bcas bskul ngor ³ sgo mang mkhan chen sprul ming ni dge 'dun bstan pa dar rgyas kyis gsal phral tshig tu bris pa'o

SUMMARY

Similar to the first two recitations, the speaker praises *bla ma*, *srung ma*, and local deities, beseeching them for their protection. He also asks protection from the deities and water spirits. Plants such as barley and wheat are offered to the *lab rtse*. The speaker strongly encourages such offerings as milk and yogurt to the deities. Finally, he asks these deities to protect locals from disasters, illnesses, and other misfortunes.

...

The incense scripture below is a much shorter, more concise version of the above (Lcam rig sras 2011:262) and more commonly offered by locals.

¹ གྲུ། ² ས་བརྟན་ས་འཛིན་སྒྲང་ཆེན་འབྲིང་འབྲ་བའི། ³ རིན་ཆེན་སྤྲུངས་རི་བྱུང་སྤྲན་ལ་སོགས་བསང་། ⁴ དཀར་
ཕྱོགས་སྤྱིང་བའི་གཞི་བདག་མཐུ་བོ་ཆེ། ⁵ གནས་པའི་དགེ་བསྟེན་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་རྩྱུར་བྱོན། ⁶ མཁན་ཤུག་ཕྱེ་
མར་འོ་ཞོ་ང་ཆང་སོགས། ⁷ རབ་འབར་མེ་ལ་བསྟེན་པའི་དྲུག་སྤྲིན་འདིས། ⁸ རྒྱལ་བོ་བྱུང་དང་བཙུན་མོ་སྤྲུལ་སྤྲོན་
བཅས། ⁹ ཞལ་བཞིན་བཞེས་ནས་འདོད་དོན་མ་ལས་བསྐྱབས། ¹⁰ ཞེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་སྟོ་མང་མཁན་སྤྲུལ་དགེ་
འདུན་བསྟན་པ་དར་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་བྲིས་པ་ལོ།

¹ kye ² sa brtan sa 'dzin glang chen 'gying 'dra ba'I ³ rin chen spungs ri khyung sman la sogs bsang ⁴ dkar phyogs skyong ba'i gzhi bdag mthu bo che ⁵ gnas pa'i dge bsnyen 'khor dang bcas tshur byon ⁶ mkhan shug phye mar 'o zho ja chang sogs ⁷ rab 'bar me la bsreg pa'i dud sprin 'dis ⁸ rgyal bo khyod dang btsun mo sras blon bcas ⁹ zhal bzhin nas 'dod don ma las bsgrubs ¹⁰ zhes pa 'di yang sgo mang mkhan sprul dge 'dun bstan pa dar rgyas kyis bris pa'o

BRIDEWEALTH

Traditionally the bride's family asks for *rgyu rin* 'bridewealth' from the groom's family. Locals asked for horses and cash in the past, but now they ask only for cash. In 2015, middle-class families requested approximately 4,000 RMB, lower-class families 1,000 RMB, and wealthy families 5,000-10,000 RMB.

Matchmakers mention the bridewealth before the *A zhang* do, but never mention the amount that will be given. The *A zhang* discuss the amount they expect to receive. Their decision depends primarily on the matchmakers' attitudes, their relationship with the groom's family, and the closeness of the relationship between the bride's family and the matchmakers. If the amount seems unfair to the matchmakers, they bargain to reduce it. The matchmakers then ask the *A zhang* to specify a day on which to deliver the bridewealth cash.

THE BRIDE'S FAMILY'S CLOTHING REQUIREMENT

In the past, the bride's family required the bride's clothes to be better than those of other families and demanded more than the groom's family had prepared. For example, they demanded longer and larger otter skins, different colored robes, larger *bzho bzung*, *glo gzur*, and so on. However, such demands are rare today. Instead, locals request gold necklaces and earrings.

SETTING THE WEDDING DAY

Most locals arrange weddings just after New Year celebrations, believing this period to be auspicious. In some cases both families might ask an astrologer to determine an auspicious day for the wedding. Once the wedding date is set, a key relative of the bride's father decides how many *A zhang* will attend the wedding. In fact, the bride's family largely decides the wedding, including the number of *A zhang* who will attend. The groom's family must comply with the bride's family's decisions. In 2012, the largest number of *A zhang* was about ten and the fewest was two. In contrast, in the 1970s and earlier, the number of *A zhang* might have exceeded one hundred. The number has gradually decreased as many locals have simplified weddings, making them smaller and cheaper.

RUMORS

Sometimes negative rumors about the bride are spread either by non-relatives who have a quarrel with either family, or by relatives who oppose the marriage. Such rumors usually concern the bride's family rather than the bride herself. If a member of the bride's family

hears that a relative or member of the groom's family has commented negatively on the bride's family lineage or bones and flesh, the bride's family members furiously confront the groom's family and might even cancel the marriage. The groom's family then locates the person who initiated the rumors and in this way eventually resolves the matter. The person who spread the rumor generally admits that the rumor is false. The matter now resolved, honor is restored and the marriage proceeds.

THE MOTHER'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE BRIDE

Following the completion of negotiations, the bride's mother instructs her daughter on a number of matters: how to be polite to the groom's family members at the groom's home, how to respond to the groom's relatives, especially the husband's parents and elders, and how to work hard.

If the bride does not work hard, for example, if she does not get up before others to make breakfast, villagers consider her lazy and the bride's parents and relatives will be upset. Quarrels and even divorce may ensue.

THE BRIDE EATS VERY LITTLE

As the day approaches for the bride to be escorted to the groom's home, her family members encourage her to eat less than usual. This custom might originate in the following account from Lha sgron:

A bride was about to be sent to the groom's home for her wedding. Before the wedding day, the bride ate a lot, thinking that, on the wedding day, she would be unable to eat much because she would not be allowed to walk around, including going to the toilet during her first visit to the groom's home. On the wedding day, the *A zhang* and bride rode horses. On the way to the wedding, she had diarrhea, and defecated in her pants. When the groom's relatives asked her to dismount, she refused. Finally, she whispered to her brother (one of the *A zhang*), telling him about her accident. The clever brother then demanded that the groom's relatives take the bride inside on her horse saddle.

Today, the bride is reminded, "Remember the bride with the saddle," so she will limit her eating. Some brides fast on the day before their wedding. Locals refer to this as *bag ma'i kha 'gugs pa* 'limit bride's eating'.

THE BRIDE'S DEPARTURE

When the day of the wedding arrives, villagers escort the bride to the groom's home before dawn. Reaching the groom's before sunrise is considered auspicious (Gcan tsha bkra bho 2008:248), regardless of the distance between the bride's and groom's homes.

On the night before, the *A zhang* come to the bride's family and stay. That night, the *A zhang* drink a small amount of beer or liquor and practice songs and speeches they will present the next day.

The family prepares *rang* 'gifts to the groom's family for the bride', on this night or earlier. A *rang* includes mutton, one or two bags of candy, fruits such as apples and peaches, *zhun*,¹⁵⁵ and *thud*.¹⁵⁶ The mutton is usually a whole sheep carcass. A juniper twig and tufts of wool are placed on top. Some locals say this provides fortune and wealth, with the wool acting as a purifying agent and the juniper protecting from evils. When the groom's family receives *rang*, small portions are given to relatives and neighboring families.

The bride will have few chances to meet friends and relatives after her departure the next morning. Her friends come with gifts and talk to her while her hair is being plaited. Each friend gives her a bolt of cloth and one hundred to 200 RMB.

¹⁵⁵ *Zhun* is made of barley flour, cheese, butter, and sugar. It is identical to *rtsam pa*, except that more butter is used and thus it forms a solid cake when it cools.

¹⁵⁶ *Thud* is made of cooked dough mixed with cheese, butter, and sugar to form a cake.

Photo 141. *Zhun* is made of barley flour, cheese, butter, and sugar. It is similar to *rtsam pa*, except that more butter is used and thus it forms a solid cake when it cools. This photo was taken in 2014.



Photo 142. Two women plait the bride's hair in a style called '*brog mgo*' 'nomad hairstyle' consisting of many long, thin plaits (2013).



Photo 143. Hair after braiding.



A HAIR SPEECH

During the departure night, in the same room as the *A zhang*, the bride is surrounded by female relatives and friends. Two girls plait the bride's hair in '*brog mgo*'. Meanwhile, an *A zhang* or the bride's brother sings the *skra bshad* 'hair speech' while holding a white *kha btags* and a *ra mgo* that he gives to the hairdressers to attach to the bride's head. However, in 2015, it was difficult to locate someone who could fluently give this speech. Khe bhe provided the following:

¹ཡ། ²སྤྱིང་རྒྱུང་ལོ་ལོ་དོན་འབྲུག་མ། ³སྤྱིང་རྒྱུང་ལོ་ལོ་བསམ་འབྲུག་མ། ⁴བསམ་དོན་གནས་ནས་འབྲུག་རྒྱུ་མ།
⁵ངའི་སྤྱིང་རྒྱུང་མ་དྲུལ་ལ་ལོངས། ⁶ང་སྤྱིང་རྒྱུང་ཞི་ལུས་སྤྱི་ཞིག་ཤད། ⁷ཐོག་དང་པོ་སྤྱིང་པའི་གསུང་རབ་
 ཡོད། ⁸ནམ་སྐྱུ་རེངས་བཀྲགས་ན་སྤྱི་བཞིག་ཟེར། ⁹དགྲུང་ཉི་ཅེ་བརྒྱབ་ན་སྤྱི་བསྤྱི་ཟེར། ¹⁰སྤྱི་བསྤྱི་ས་ན་དབང་
 ཐང་དར་ཞེས་ཟེར། ¹¹སྤྱི་གཞོང་གསེར་གཞོང་པ་མོ་ཡིན། ¹²སྤྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་བསམ་མ་ཡིན། ¹³སྤྱི་སྤྱིང་འབྲི་མར་

མེར་པོ་ཡིན། 14 སྐྱ་ལམ་དགར་སྤྱད་གཞེར་ཐུར་ཡིན། 15 སྐྱ་ལམ་དགར་རིས་སྤྱོད་རིས་ཡིན། 16 སྤྱིང་ཆུང་གནམ་
 གྱིས་བསྐྱུང་རྒྱུ་མ། 17 སྤྱིང་ཆུང་ཆོ་ཐག་རིང་རྒྱུ་མ། 18 སྐྱ་གཡམ་ས་ཤད་སྤྱད་གཞེར་སོ་དགོས། 19 གཞེར་ཞེར་
 པོའི་སོ་མང་ཆ་ཞིག་དགོས། 20 སྐྱ་གཡོན་ས་ཤད་སྤྱད་དཔུ་སོ་དགོས། 21 དཔུ་དགར་པོའི་སོ་མང་ཆ་ཞིག་
 དགོས། 22 སྐྱ་རལ་བ་ཤད་སྤྱད་དུ་སོ་དགོས། 23 དུ་དགར་པོའི་སོ་མང་ཆ་ཞིག་དགོས།

1 ya 2 sring chung lo lo don 'grub ma 3 sring chung lo lo bsam 'grub ma
 4 bsam don gnas nas 'grub rgyu ma 5 nga'i sring chung ma ngu yar la
 longs 6 nga spun chung zhi lus skra zhig shad 7 thog dang po srid pa'i
 gsung rab yod 8 nam skya rengs bkyags na skra bshig zer 9 dgung nyi
 rtse brgyab na skra bsal zer 10 skra bsal na dbang thang dar zhes zer
 11 skra gzhang gser gzhang phra mo yin 12 skra chu rdza chu bsil ma
 yin 13 skra skud 'bri mar ser po yin 14 skra lam dgar spyad gser thur yin
 15 skra lam dkar ris sngo ris yin 16 sring chung gnam gyis bsrung rgyu
 ma 17 sring chung tshe thag ring rgyu ma 18 skra g.yas sa shad spyad
 gser so dgos 19 gser ser po'i so mang cha zhig dgos 20 skra g.yon sa
 shad spyad dngul so dgos 21 dngul dkar po'i so mang cha zhig dgos
 22 skra ral ba shad spyad dung so dgos 23 dung dkar po'i so mang cha
 zhig dgos

1 ཨ། 2 སྤྱིང་ཆུང་ལོ་ལོ་བསམ་འབྱུང་མ། 3 ཨ། 4 སྤྱིང་ཆུང་ལོ་ལོ་དོན་འབྱུང་མ། 5 སྐྱ་གཡམ་ས་སྐྱ་ནི་སྤྱོད་ལོ་ཡིན།
 6 སྤྱོད་ཆོ་པ་སྤྱོད་ལོ་ཡིན། 7 སྐྱ་གཡོན་ས་སྐྱ་ནི་སྤྱོད་ལོ་ཡིན། 8 སྤྱོད་ཆུང་བ་སྤྱོད་ལོ་ཡིན། 9 སྐྱ་རལ་བ་སྐྱ་ནི་སྤྱོད་ཆུང་
 ཡིན། 10 ད་སྤྱོད་ཆུང་ཞི་ལུར་སྐྱ་སྤྱོད་ཡོད། 11 སྐྱ་གཡམ་ས་མི་འཕར་གོང་གཞོན་ལ། 12 ཐུ་རུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལག་
 གཡམ་ཡོད། 13 སྐྱ་གཡོན་ས་མི་འཕར་གོང་གཞོན་ལ། 14 གཡུ་དུག་དགར་འཕར་མ་འཕར་ཤེས་ཡོད། 15 སྐྱ་རལ་
 བ་མི་འཕར་གོང་གཞོན་ལ། 16 དཔུ་དགར་པོའི་ཚོར་བུ་ཆ་བདུན་ཡོད། 17 འདི་སྤྱལ་མེད་མོད་ལུ་ཆང་ཡོད།
 18 ལུ་ཆང་ཡོད་པ་མཛོད་ན་ཡོད། 19 དེ་རིང་མཛོད་ཁང་སྤྱོད་བཞིན་ཡོད། 20 ཨ། 21 སྤྱིང་ཆུང་ལོ་ལོ་བསམ་འབྱུང་
 མ། 22 ཨ། 23 སྤྱིང་ཆུང་ལོ་ལོ་དོན་འབྱུང་མ། 24 སྐྱ་ཐོག་སའི་རྩོད་ས་པ་ཐོག་ལྷ་ཡོད། 25 ཐོག་ལྷ་ཐོག་ཆོན་སྤྱོད་
 ཡོད། 26 སྐྱ་བར་སའི་རྩོད་ས་པ་བར་ལྷ་ཡོད། 27 བར་ལྷ་ཐོར་བུ་ཆ་བདུན་ཡོད། 28 སྐྱ་ཐོག་སའི་རྩོད་ས་པ་ཐོག་ལྷ་
 ཡོད། 29 ཐོག་ལྷ་ཨ་འཇམ་ཆ་རུ་ཡོད། 30 ཐོག་ལྷ་རིང་ལྷ་ཐུང་བཙུང་བརྟུང་ཡོད། 31 ཐོག་ལྷ་བཙུང་བག་མའི་
 སྤྱོད་ཆང་ཡིན། 32 མང་ནངས་མོ་ནམ་ཁ་ལངས་དུས་སྤྱ། 33 བྱོད་པ་ཨ་ལུ་རྩམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱུལ་ནས་འགྲོ། 34 ད་
 སྤྱོད་ཆུང་མང་པོས་སྤྱོད་ནས་འགྲོ།

1 a 2 sring chung lo lo bsam 'grub ma 3 a 4 sring chung lo lo don 'grub
 ma 5 skra g.yas sa sla ni sru mo yin 6 sru mo che pa lha mo yin 7 skra
 g.yon sa sla ni sru mo yin 8 sru mo chung ba klu mo yin 9 skra ral ba
 sla ni spun chung yin 10 nga spun chung zhi lur sla skal yod 11 skra
 g.yas sa mi 'phar gong gnon la 12 byu ru rgyal mo'i lag g.yas yod 13 skra

g.yon sa mi 'phar gong gnon la ¹⁴ g.yu drug dkar 'phar ma 'phar shes
yod ¹⁵ skra ral ba mi 'phar gong gnon la ¹⁶ dngul dkar po'i nor bu cha
bdun yod ¹⁷ 'di su la med mod 'u tshang yod ¹⁸ 'u tshang yod pa mdzod
na yod ¹⁹ de ring mdzod khang sngog bzhin yod ²⁰ a ²¹ sring chung lo lo
bsam 'grub ma ²² a ²³ sring chung lo lo don 'grub ma ²⁴ skra thog sa'i
rdzongs pa thog lwa yod ²⁵ thog lwa gos chen sngo skya yod ²⁶ skra bar
sa'i rdzongs pa bar lwa yod ²⁷ bar lwa nor bu cha bdun yod ²⁸ skra 'og
sa'i rdzongs pa 'og lwa yod ²⁹ 'og lwa a 'jam tsha ru yod ³⁰ gos lwa ring
lwa thung bco brgyad yod ³¹ gos bco brgyad bag ma'i gyon tshad yin
³² sang nangs mo nam kha langs dus su ³³ khyod pha a khu rnam kyis
bskyal nas 'gro ³⁴ nga spun chung mang pos skyor nas 'gro

1 ཨ། 2 མིང་རྒྱུང་ལོ་ལོ་བསམ་འགྲུབ་མ། 3 ཨ། 4 མིང་རྒྱུང་ལོ་ལོ་དོན་འགྲུབ་མ། 5 རྒྱུང་གནས་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཕྱི་ཉིན་
ནས། 6 རྒྱུས་ཨ་པ་གཅིས་གཅིས་ཨ་ཁྱེས་གཅིས། 7 ཨ་པའི་ལག་ལ་རྩ་འཛིག་བྱོས། 8 ཨ་མ་གཅིས་གཅིས་ཨ་ན་
གཅིས། 9 ཨ་ནའི་རྩ་ཚགས་གོས་ལེན་བྱོས། 10 རྒྱུང་མག་པར་འགྲིག་པོ་མཐུན་པོ་བྱོས། 11 དེ་བྱས་ན་བུ་མོའི་
རྒྱན་ཞིག་ཡིན། 12 ལྷ་རའི་ནང་ལ་སྒོར་རེ་བརྒྱུག། 13 ལོ་རའི་ནང་ནས་ལུས་ལ་ལེན།

¹ a ² sring chung lo lo bsam 'grub ma ³ a ⁴ sring chung lo lo don 'grub
ma ⁵ khyod gnas su song ba'i phyi nyin nas ⁶ khyos a pha gces gces a
myes gces ⁷ a pha'i lag la ja 'jog byos ⁸ a ma gces gces a ne gces ⁹ a ne'i
rkang tshegs gom len byos ¹⁰ khyod mag par 'grig po mthun po byos
¹¹ de byes na bu mo'i rgyan zhig yin ¹² zla re'i nang la skor re brgyag
¹³ lo re'i nang nas yul la len

1 ཨ། 2 མིང་རྒྱུང་ལོ་ལོ་བསམ་འགྲུབ་མ། 3 ཨ། 4 མིང་རྒྱུང་ལོ་ལོ་དོན་འགྲུབ་མ། 5 རྒྱུང་བསམ་དོན་གནས་ནས་
འགྲུབ་པར་ཤོག། 6 རྒྱུང་བསམ་དོན་གནས་ནས་འགྲུབ་པར་ཤོག།

¹ a ² sring chung lo lo bsam 'grub ma ³ a ⁴ sring chung lo lo don 'grub
ma ⁵ khyod bsam don gnas nas 'grub par shog ⁶ khyod bsam don gnas
nas 'grub par shog

SUMMARY

In this speech, a brother of the bride's or paternal cousin wishes his sister a successful marriage. He asks her to stand up to have her hair combed and begins by stating that according to oral tradition, her hair should be plaited at dawn and sunrise to bring good fortune because the plaited hair resembles gold. He continues, explaining how the hair is washed in fresh spring water, and that the middle plait resembles yellow yak butter. He describes how the plaits should be separated by gold chopsticks. Those on the right side should be combed with a pair of gold combs while those on the left with a pair

of silver combs. He suggests that the middle plaits should be combed with a pair of conchshell combs. He then nominates the hairdressers – elder Aunt Lha mo 'Goddess' for the right side, younger Aunt Klu mo 'Female Water Deity' for the left side, and the younger brother for the middle. He describes the hair ornaments: coral on the right, turquoise on the left, and seven pieces of silver in the middle. He claims that no other families have such ornaments stored in their treasure houses and then declares that a new bride should wear eighteen types of garments.

He admonishes the bride to take great care of her husband's father, as if he were her own father, and to always use both hands when she hands him a bowl of tea. She is also advised to similarly take care of her husband's mother. He reassures the bride that her *A zhang* will visit monthly and take her home annually. Finally, he tells her that, as the sun rises, the *A zhang* will escort her to the wedding, and wishes her a successful, happy marriage.

Photo 144. Women select the color of *rgyab dar* for the bride.



Photo 145. The bride's female relatives dress her up.



Photo 146. *Rgyab dar* on the back of a bride.



Photo 147. A new bride prepares to go to the groom's family.



Just before dawn, the bride's family members and relatives get up, dress in their best robes, and leave soon after breakfast. The bride is escorted by the *A zhang*. No female relative escorts her. As they start off, a monk or *sngags pa* chants *G.yang 'bod* 'calling fortune'. *G.yang* refers to family members' fortune or luck. When a member leaves to join another family through marriage, *G.yang 'bod* is chanted to call their fortune back, which locals think belongs to their natal family. Both the bride and groom's families do this. The groom's family invites a monk or *sngags pa* to chant when the bride and the *A zhang* reach the groom's home. For the bride's natal family, this ritual calls fortune back to the bride's home, since she is leaving for another home, whereas, the groom's family calls the fortune brought by the bride to them.

Photo 148. A local *sngags pa* chants *g.yang 'bod* during a wedding ceremony.



¹⁵⁷ A Buddhist recitation for calling fortune.

An example of a *g.yang* 'bod¹⁵⁸ recitation follows:

¹ སྒོལ་མའི་གཡང་འགྲགས་དཀར་མོ་གཡས་འབྱིལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།།

¹ sgrol ma'i g.yang 'gugs dkar mo g.yas 'khyil zhes bya ba bzhugs so

² གྱེ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་འཕྱིན་ལས་རྩམས།།

³ གཅིག་བསྐྱས་སྒྲ་ཡི་གཡང་ཁྱེ་ཅིག།

⁴ གུས་པ་ཆེན་པོས་གསོལ་འདེབས་ན།།

⁵ བྱིན་རྒྱལས་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྐྱེད་དུ་གསོལ།།

² kye rgyal ba kun gyi 'phrin las rnam

³ gcig bsdus bla ma rje btsun mar

⁴ gus pa chen pos gsol 'debs na

⁵ byin rlabs dngos grub bstsal du gsol

⁶ དབུ་རྒྱན་འོད་གྱི་ཕྱེད་བཡིས།།

⁷ རྟེན་ཕྱོགས་སྒྲ་ཡི་གཡང་ཁྱེ་ཅིག།

⁸ སྒོལ་དང་འདྲ་བའི་སྐྱེན་གཉིས་གྱིས།།

⁹ བར་གྱི་མི་ཡི་གཡང་ཁྱེ་ཅིག།

⁶ dbu rgyan 'od kyī phreng ba yis

⁷ steng phyogs lha yi g.yang khug cig

⁸ glog dang 'dra ba'i spyān gnyis kyis

⁹ bar gyi mi yi g.yang khug cig

¹⁰ གཡས་བསྐྱེད་མས་གཡོན་བསྐྱེད་མས་གཉིས་གྱིས།།

¹¹ འོག་ཕྱོགས་སྒྲ་ཡི་གཡང་ཁྱེ་ཅིག།

¹² མཆོག་སྐྱིན་སྐྱེད་མས་སྐྱིན་ཕུག་རྒྱུ་ཡིས།།

¹³ མཆོག་མཐུན་དངོས་གྲུབ་གཡང་ཁྱེ་ཅིག།

¹⁰ g.yas bskums g.yon bskyangs zhabs gnyis kyis

¹¹ 'og phyogs glu yi g.yang khug cig

¹⁵⁸ Lha sgron provided this orally. This script also appears in other old scriptures and chanted by monks and tantric practitioners. This recording is available at: <https://archive.org/details/SongsChantsSpeeches>, accessed 21 February 2015.

¹² mchog sbyin skyabs sbyin phyag rgya yis
¹³ mchog mthun dngos grub g.yang khug cig

¹⁴ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཡི་རྒྱན་མང་གིས།
¹⁵ འདྲོད་དགའི་མོངས་སྤྱད་གཡང་ཁུག་ཅིག།
¹⁶ ལྷ་རྩལ་དར་གྱི་ན་བཟའ་ཡིས།
¹⁷ ཚུལ་བྲིམས་དག་པའི་གཡང་ཁུག་ཅིག།

¹⁴ rin po che yi rgyan mang gis
¹⁵ 'dod dgu'i longs spyod g.yang khug cig
¹⁶ lha rdzas dar gyi na bza' yis
¹⁷ tshul khirms dag pa'i g.yang khug cig

¹⁸ རིགས་བདག་ཆེ་དཔག་མེད་མགོན་གྱིས།
¹⁹ འཆི་མེད་ཆེ་ཡི་གཡང་ཁུག་ཅིག།
²⁰ ཉེར་གཅིག་ལྷ་མོའི་ཚོགས་རྩམས་གྱིས།
²¹ འཕྲིན་ལས་སྤྱ་ཚོགས་གཡང་ཁུག་ཅིག།

¹⁸ rigs bdag tshe dpag med mgon gyis
¹⁹ 'chi med tshe yi g.yang khug cig
²⁰ nyer gcig lha mo'i tshogs rnams kyis
²¹ 'phrin las sna tshogs g.yang khug cig

²² གྱེ་ཆངས་པ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་ལ་སོགས་པ།
²³ ལྷ་ཡི་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གཡང་།
²⁴ དར་དཀར་གཡལ་ཅིང་སྤྱན་འབྲེན་ན།
²⁵ གནས་འདྲིར་ཕྱ་དང་གཡང་ལ་བྱོན།

²² kye tshangs pa brgya byin la sogs pa
²³ lha yi bsod nams dpal 'byor g.yang
²⁴ dar dkar g.yab cing spyen 'dren na
²⁵ gnas 'dir phywa dang g.yang la byon

²⁶ དགའ་བོ་འཛོག་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པ།
²⁷ ལྷ་ཡི་མི་ཟད་གཏེར་གྱི་གཡང་།
²⁸ དར་དཀར་གཡལ་ཅིང་སྤྱན་འབྲེན་ན།

29 གནས་འདིར་བླ་དང་གཡང་ལ་བྱོན།

26 dga' bo 'jog po la sogs pa

27 klu yi mi zad gter gyi g.yang

28 dar dkar g.yab cing spyen 'dren na

29 gnas 'dir phywa dang g.yang la byon

30 འཁོར་ལོས་སྐྱར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོགས།

31 བར་གྱི་ཡི་ཡུག་གཡང་དེ།

32 དར་དཀར་གཡལ་ཅིང་སྐྱན་འབྲེན་ན།

33 གནས་འདིར་བླ་དང་གཡང་ལ་བྱོན།

30 'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal bo sogs

31 bar gyi mi yi phyug g.yang de

32 dar dkar g.yab cing spyen 'dren na

33 gnas 'dir phywa dang g.yang la byon

34 ཏྲོན་ར་ལུག་ལ་སོགས་པ།

35 སྒོ་ན་རྒྱང་བཞི་ཡུགས་ཀྱི་གཡང་།

36 དར་དཀར་གཡལ་ཅིང་སྐྱན་འབྲེན་ན།

37 གནས་འདིར་བླ་དང་གཡང་ལ་བྱོན།

34 rta nor ra lug la sogs pa

35 sgo na rkang bzhi phyugs kyi g.yang

36 dar dkar g.yab cing spyen 'dren na

37 gnas 'dir phywa dang g.yang la byon

38 གསེར་དངུལ་དར་ཟབ་ལ་སོགས་པ།

39 ཡུག་ན་ཞོར་རྒྱས་འབྱོར་བའི་གཡང་།

40 དར་དཀར་གཡལ་ཅིང་སྐྱན་འབྲེན་ན།

41 གནས་འདིར་བླ་དང་གཡང་ལ་བྱོན།

38 gser dngul dar zab la sogs pa

39 phug na nor rdzas 'byor ba'i g.yang

40 dar dkar g.yab cing spyen 'dren na

41 gnas 'dir phywa dang g.yang la byon

42 བྱ་དང་ཚ་བོ་ཡང་ཚ་སོགས།།

43 བར་ན་མགོ་ནག་མི་ཡི་གཡང་།།

44 དར་དཀར་གཡམ་ཅིང་མྱུན་འབྲེན་ན།།

45 གནས་འདྲིར་ཕྱ་དང་གཡང་ལ་བྱོན།།

42 bu dang tsha bo yang tsha sogs

43 bar na mgo nag mi yi g.yang

44 dar dkar g.yab cing spyen 'dren na

45 gnas 'dir phywa dang g.yang la byon

46 ཕ་རོལ་མི་མཐུན་དཔུང་འཛོམས་པའི།།

47 སྤྱིང་སྒྲོབས་ལྷན་པའི་དཔའ་རྩལ་གཡང་།།

48 དར་དཀར་གཡམ་ཅིང་མྱུན་འབྲེན་ན།།

49 གནས་འདྲིར་ཕྱ་དང་གཡང་ལ་བྱོན།།

46 pha rol mi mthun dpung 'joms pa'i

47 snying stobs ldan pa'i dpa' rtsal g.yang

48 dar dkar g.yab cing spyen 'dren na

49 gnas 'dir phywa dang g.yang la byon

50 མི་མཐུན་ཞིབའི་བཀ་ཤིས་གཡང་།།

51 མཐུན་རྒྱུན་འཛོམས་པའི་ཕུན་ཚོགས་གཡང་།།

52 དར་དཀར་གཡམ་ཅིང་མྱུན་འབྲེན་ན།།

53 གནས་འདྲིར་ཕྱ་དང་གཡང་ལ་བྱོན།།

50 mi mthun zhi ba'i bkra shis g.yang

51 mthun rkyen 'dzoms pa'i phun tshogs g.yang

52 dar dkar g.yab cing spyen 'dren na

53 gnas 'dir phywa dang g.yang la byon

54 མདོར་ན་སྒྲོན་བསགས་བསོད་ནམས་གྱི།།

55 ས་བོན་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་གྲུ་ཆར་གྱིས།།

56 བསྐྱངས་པའི་དོན་གཉིས་ལོ་དྲོག་གིས།།

67 རེ་བའི་བང་བ་གང་བར་ཤོག།

54 mdor na sngon bsags bsod nams kyi
 55 sa bon byin rlabs gru char gyis
 56 bskyangs pa'i don gnyis lo tog gis
 57 re ba'i bang ba gang bar shog

54 འབད་དང་སྒོལ་བ་མི་དགོས་པར།
 55 ཡིད་བཞིན་ཚོར་བུ་དཔག་བསམ་ཤིང་།
 56 སེམས་ཅན་རེ་བ་སྒོར་མཛད་པའི།
 57 བསམ་པ་འབྲུག་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག།

54 'bad dang rtsol ba mi dgos par
 55 yid bzhin nor bu dpag bsam shing
 56 sems can re ba skong mdzad pa'i
 57 bsam pa 'grub pa'i bkra shis shog

SUMMARY

This chanting starts with the wish that all sentient beings be blessed by Sgrol ma 'Tara',¹⁵⁹ and continues by wishing that various beings be blessed.

...

While *G.yang 'bod* is chanted, two *A zhang* hold the bride by the arms and escort her to circumambulate the *bsang khri*¹⁶⁰ in the courtyard three times while they burn incense and offer liquor in the direction of local temples and deities. If there is no *bsang khri* in the courtyard, *A zhang* burn incense outside the family *bsang khri*, which is usually near the home, while another group of *A zhang* escort the bride without circumambulating.

As they circumambulate a *bsang khri* or, when the bride leaves her natal home, the bride's mother or a relative stand at the doorway and call the bride. The *A zhang* and bride reply. There are three rounds of calling and answering.

Mother:¹⁶¹

¹ སྒྲོལ་མ།
² སྒྱིད་ཅིག་ཡོད་ན་རང་གིས་བྱེད།

¹⁵⁹ A deity.

¹⁶⁰ A platform made of adobe or bricks where incense is burned.

¹⁶¹ Lha sgron.

³གཡང་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན་ཨ་མར་སྤྱད།

⁴ཨ་དགོ།

¹sgrol ma

²skyid cig yod na rang gis khyer

³g.yang zhig yod na a mar skyur

⁴e dgo

¹Sgrol ma (the bride's name),

²If there is happiness, please take it with you.

³If there is fortune, please leave it with Mother.

⁴OK?

A zhang (together):

⁵ཨྱལ།

⁵o ya

⁵Sure!

While calling fortune, the bride's mother laments that her daughter is leaving for the groom's home. The *A zhang* and bride circle the *bsang khri* three times and then depart for the groom's home. Historically they rode a horse but in the past few years, they have gone by motorcycle. At this moment, the bride should not look back. To do so portends divorce.

On the way to the groom's home, the bride and *A zhang* perform *mchod kha* 'offering water/ liquor to deities' in three different locations previously selected by the groom's family and considered sacred. Some of the *gnyen tshang* 'groom's relatives' or 'family members' come by motorcycle or vehicle and greet the *A zhang* at predetermined locations. There are three groups of *gnyen tshang*, one for each of the three locations.

Upon meeting, the *A zhang* sometimes include people from the *gnyen tshang* as *A zhang*, if they are originally from the bride's tribe and married relatives of the *gnyen tshang*.

At each place, the *gnyen tshang* should have a bottle of liquor, which they pour into the bowls and asperse in the directions of local deities and other holy mountains and places, e.g., Lha sa, A myes rma chen Mountain, and local *lab rtse* while reciting the *bsang* scripture.

Before reaching the gate of the groom's home, a ritual called '*bab rten* 'dismounting base' is performed by the groom's family. Two people from the *gnyen tshang* hold a long *kha btags* high in the air and the *A zhang* pass under it. Meanwhile, an *A zhang* takes the *kha btags*. This communicates that both sides welcome the wedding

ceremony and the *A zhang* agree to enter the groom's home.

Finally, the *A zhang* approach the gate of the groom's home compound and dismount. The *A zhang* and bride usually approach from the lower side of the groom's home and enter at the front. One or two women from the *gnyen tshang* give a *kha btags* to the driver of the bride's vehicle or motorcycle. In the past, a *kha btags* was tied to the bride's horse's neck. Afterwards, two *A zhang* slowly assist the bride from the horse/ motorcycle/ vehicle to the ground as the bride conceals her face with her robe sleeve. This is called *tshu'u* 'hiding shyness' or 'showing respect'. Locals interpret this as the bride showing respect to the *gnyen tshang* and encourage her not to be shy. However, an account by Lha sgron provides an alternative interpretation:

When King Srong btsan sgam po (617-650) married Princess Rgya bza' gong jo (625-680) (the niece of Tang Taizong Li Shimin (599-649), second Emperor of the Tang Dynasty), Minister 'Gar stong btsan lied to the princess that the King had *gseb dri*. The princess then covered her nose with her sleeve. The minister also lied to the king that the princess covered her face because she had no nose. Since then, local brides cover their faces on their wedding day.

As soon as the bride dismounts, two or several women from the groom's family sing the *sgo 'gyogs* 'door raising'¹⁶² song as a greeting. Since she cannot see others and cannot let others see her, her two *A zhang* companions guide her. *Gnyen tshang* members then lead the *A zhang* into the groom's home while the bride is escorted by two *bag rogs* 'bridesmaids' from the groom's family.

Photo 149. Local women stand at the gate of a groom's home, waiting to sing *sgo 'gyogs* at the arrival of the *A zhang*.



¹⁶² It refers to opening the door for or welcoming the *A zhang* by singing at the door.

Photo 150. Two of the bride's relatives accompany her to the room where the *A zhang* sit.



Photo 151. Two bridesmaids from the *gnyen tshang* accompany the bride when she enters the room. The bride bows her head and hides her face. She is taken to the room where all the *A zhang* sit when everyone enters the groom's home.



Photo 152. The bridesmaids carefully and slowly escort the bride to her tent.



*SGO 'GYOGS SONG*¹⁶³

¹ རེད་ཁའི་ལམ་འདི་ལྷ་ལམ་ཡིན། ² བྱེད་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ལམ་དཀར་པོ་སྤྱོད་ཤེས་བྱོས།
³ རེད་ཁའི་སྒོ་འདི་ལྷ་སྒོ་ཡིན། ⁴ བྱེད་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་སྒོ་དཀར་པོ་ཕྱེ་ཤེས་བྱོས།
⁵ རེད་ཁའི་ལྷ་འདི་ལྷ་མོ་ཡིན། ⁶ མ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་མོ་བརྟུར་ཤེས་བྱོས།

¹ nged kha'i lam 'di lha lam yin ² khyed kyis lha lam dkar po spo shes
 byos
³ nged kha'i sgo 'di lha sgo yin ⁴ khyed kyis lha sgo dkar po phye shes
 byos
⁵ nged kha'i lha 'di lha mo yin ⁶ ma dpal ldan lha mo bkur shes byos

¹ Our family's path is a pure divine path, ² please follow it carefully.
³ Our family's door is a pure divine door, ⁴ please open it carefully.
⁵ Our family's deity is a pure female divinity, ⁶ please respect her genuinely.

¹⁶³ Provided by Lha sgron. A recording of this song sung by several women at a Bon skor wedding ceremony in 2013 is available at <https://archive.org/details/SongsChantsSpeeches>, accessed 21 February 2015.

WEDDING CEREMONY PREPARATION

THE GROOM'S FAMILY PREPARATION

Much preparation is required to hold a wedding. Bon skor residents prepare by cleaning their homes and washing all the clothes, bed sheets, and curtains. Meanwhile, family men go to Mgo mang Town, the nearest market, and purchase vegetables, fruit, candy, biscuits, and drink. They also slaughter three to five of the family's sheep. Prior to 2000, most wedding food was mutton and ten to fifteen sheep were butchered. The number of sheep slaughtered was perceived as directly reflecting the family's wealth. However, the number of livestock butchered has gradually decreased because many people believe it to be sinful and wasteful. Since 2006, locals have stopped using meat so prominently as a marker of social status. Consequently, wedding ceremonies cost less than in the past.

Today, villagers make meat dumplings and bread, buy various fruit and biscuits, and make *rtsam pa*, yogurt, and noodles. Small plates of boiled and fried mutton are also prepared. Locals buy one hundred to 300 bottles of beer, barley liquor, Pepsi, and other beverages.

Photo 153. Deep-fried bread of different shapes. The top layer is *go re gcus ris ma*, the middle layer is *go re sog sog*, and the bottom layer is *go re nang lung ma*.



Photo 154. Go re skya phyag, baked wheat bread.



Photo 155. Drying gro 'wheat' after harvest.



Photo 156. Locally, *tshod ma* 'dumplings' are often stuffed with mutton, yak meat, turnip, and leek.



Photo 157. *Tshod ma*.



Photo 158. Two local women carry beer to a wedding ceremony.



Photo 159. Food and fruit prepared on tables for the *A zhang* prior to a wedding ceremony.



Photo 160. Fruits on a *hu tse*¹⁶⁴ table.



¹⁶⁴ The *hu tse* is a hollow platform made of adobe or brick that is heated by smoldering dung or straw inside. It is a place for chatting, sleeping, eating, drinking, and entertaining guests.

WEDDING CEREMONY

THE *A zhang* ASSEMBLY

The older *A zhang* sit on the *hu tse* or at the head of the row and the youngest sits at the end of the row. The head of a row is usually by a wall, but sometimes by the window. When the *A zhang* sit on the *hu tse*, the *gnyen tshang* assume a lower position near the door.

Photo 161. Elder *A zhang* sitting on a *hu tse*. Younger men sit on the floor.



Everyone smiles and speaks politely. As soon as the *A zhang* are seated, an articulate *gnyen tshang* man or matchmaker, asks the *A zhang* how their journey was, to which they almost always reply positively. Since the *A zhang* have now assembled, the wedding ceremony has begun.

Photo 162. Younger *A zhang* sit on the floor during a wedding.



Photo 163. *A zhang* sitting at a wedding ceremony.



A TEA SPEECH

Shortly after the *A zhang* are seated on the *hu tse*, a large kettle of milk tea is boiled on the adobe stove in the same room. Before anyone drinks tea, a female from the *gnyen tshang*, who is usually the wife of someone in the *gnyen tshang*, receives a *kha btags* or piece of long *gos* from the *A zhang* and another from a *gnyen tshang*, which are tied around her shoulders. Afterwards, she takes a scoop (the handle is wrapped with a *kha btags* and strands of sheep wool) and asperses tea in the direction of each local deity. She gives the tea speech.

Photo 164. A wife of the groom's relative makes *ja mchod* 'tea offering' and gives a tea speech. She offers tea to the local Yul lha and *lab rtse*.



In 2015, very few people could give the tea speech. Lha sgron provided the following version.

¹ཡ། ²ད་ནས་ལངས་གྱི་འགོ་མ། ³ཉི་ཤར་གྱི་ཅེ་མོ། ⁴ཨ་ཅེ་གསེར་མོ་འཆོ་དང་དདུལ་མོ་འཆོ་གཉིས་གྱིས་ཆུ་
བཅའ་གྱིན་བཅའ་གྱིན་ནགས་ལ་སོང་། ⁵ནགས་ནས་བྱད་དེ་རྩ་སོང་། ⁶རྩ་ཡི་རྩ་ཆུ་བསིལ་མ་ཉེད། ⁷རྩ་ཡི་རྩ་
ཆུ་བསིལ་མ་འདི་ཁ་ནས་བཅུས་ན་གཡལ་བྱི་བྱོ། ⁸ཞབས་ནས་བཅུས་ན་འདམ་བྱི་བྱོ། ⁹བར་གྱི་རྩ་ཆུ་བསིལ་མ་ལེན་
དགོས་ཟེད།

¹⁰ལགས་སོ། ¹¹ལགས་སོ། (ཨ་ཞང་དང་གཉེན་ཆང་ཆང་མས་མཉམ་དུ)

¹ya ²da nam langs kyi 'go ma ³nyi shar gyi rtse mo ⁴a ce gser mo 'tsho
dang dngul mo 'tsho gnyis kyis chu btsal gyin btsal gyin nags la song
⁵nags nas bud de rdza ru song ⁶rdza yi rdza chu bsil ma rnyed ⁷rdza
yi rdza chu bsil ma 'di kha nas bcus na g.ya' dri dro ⁸zhabs nas bcus
na 'dam dri dro ⁹bar gyi rdza chu bsil ma len dgos zer

¹⁰lags so ¹¹lags so (a zhang dang gnyen tshang tshang mas mnyam
du)

¹ཡ། ²བར་གྱི་རྩ་ཆུ་བསིལ་མ་འདི་གསེར་གྱི་ཐོམ་བུའི་ནང་དུ་བླགས་ནས། ³གསེར་ཐོའི་ནང་དུ་ཤག་རྒྱན་བླགས་
ནས། ⁴གསེར་ཐིག་ལྷ་མོས་སྐར་གས་བཅེངས་ཏེ། ⁵བྱུས་མོ་འཕང་ལོའི་མཆོམས་སུ་བླངས་ནས། ⁶གད་པ་གཡུང་
བྱང་སྟེང་དུ་བཞག་སྟེ་ཤེད་པ་དོན་ཤེད་ན་ལ་ཁུར།

¹ya ²bar gyi rdza chu bsil ma 'di gser gyi thom bu'i nang du blugs nas
³gser zo'i nang du shag rgyun blugs nas ⁴gser thig phra mos ska rags
bcings te ⁵pus mo 'phang lo'i mtshams su blangs nas ⁶gad pa g.yung
drung steng du bzhag ste rked pa rdo rje gdan la khur

¹ཡ། ²ཡར་ལ་ག་མ་གོག་གི་ལངས། ³མར་ལ་ལྷ་མ་ལྷིང་གི་བབས་ནས། ⁴གཉེན་ཆང་ཆང་གི་བྱིས་དུ་ཐོན་དུས།
⁵ཐབ་ཀ་སུམ་ཐོག་ཅེས་པའི་བྲི་ཡོད། ⁶ཐབ་ཀ་སུམ་ཐོག་ཅེས་པའི་བྲི་སྟེང་ན། ⁷མཁར་ཟངས་ཁ་དམར་ཞེས་པའི་
རྒྱན་ཡོད། ⁸མཁར་ཟངས་ཁ་དམར་ཞེས་པའི་རྒྱན་ནང་ལ་སྟོན་མོ་གཙང་ཆབ་ཆུ་འདི་བླགས་ཐལ་ཟེད།

⁹ལགས་སོ། ¹⁰ལགས་སོ།

¹ya ²yar la ga ma gog gi langs ³mar la lda ma lding gi babs nas ⁴gnyen
tshang tshang gi khyim du thon dus ⁵thab ka sum thog ces pa'i khri
yod ⁶thab ka sum thog zhes ba'i khri steng na ⁷mkhar zangs kha
dmar zhes pa'i rgyan yod ⁸mkhar zangs kha dmar ces pa'i rgyan nang

la sngon mo gtsang chab chu 'di blugs thal zer

9 lags so ¹⁰ lags so

¹ཡ། ²ཆུ་མ་མང་མ་ཁུང་ཐོ་གསུམ་བླགས། ³ཁུང་གི་ཟེར་ནས་ཐོ་གསུམ་བསྐྱེད། ⁴རྩ་མ་མང་མ་ཁུང་ལོ་བ་གསུམ་
འཕངས། ⁵ཁུང་གི་ཟེར་ནས་སྤར་གསུམ་བསྐྱེད།

⁶ལགས་སོ། ⁷ལགས་སོ།

¹ya ²chu ma mang ma nyung zo gsum blugs ³nyung gi zer nas thom
gsum bsnan ⁴ja ma mang ma nyung leb gsum 'phangs ⁵nyung gi zer
nas spar gsum bsnan

⁶lags so ⁷lags so

¹རྩ་འདི་ཡི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་མི་འགྲོ་མོད། ²རྩ་འདི་ཡི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་འགྲོ་ཆུ་ན། ³འདི་སྤང་ཆུ་ནག་ཡུལ་ནས་བྱུང།
⁴འདི་ཉིན་ནས་སྤྱི་པའི་བྱུང་རྩ་ཡིན། ⁵བྱུང་དཀར་རྩ་མོ་མོ་ཡིན། ⁶འདི་སྤྱབ་ནས་སྤྱི་པའི་བྱུང་རྩ་ཡིན།
⁷བྱུང་ནག་རྩ་མོ་མོ་ཡིན།

⁸ལགས་སོ། ⁹ལགས་སོ།

¹ja 'di yi 'byung khungs mi bshad mod ²ja 'di yi 'byung khungs bshad
rgyu na ³'di smad rgya nag yul nas bud ⁴'di nyin nas skyes pa'i zung ja
red ⁵zung dkar ja yi rtse mo yin ⁶'di srub nas skyes pa'i zung ja yin
⁷zung nag ja yi rtse mo yin

⁸lags so ⁹lags so

¹འདི་དཔྱད་ཐོག་གསུམ་ལ་བཏང་ཚུལ་ཡག་གི། ²དབྱར་ཐོག་གསུམ་ལ་སྤྱི་ཚུལ་ཡག་གི། ³ཉིན་ཐོག་གསུམ་ལ་སྤྱི་ཚུལ་
ཡག་གི། ⁴ཆུ་མོ་ཐོར་ཅོག་ཅན་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་ཚུལ་ཡག་གི། ⁵ཆུ་རལ་བ་ཅན་གྱིས་བཅོང་ཚུལ་ཡག་གི། ⁶རྩ་བསྐྱེད་དང་
བསྐྱེད་དང་ཟེར་ན། ⁷ཨ་མས་གཅེས་བྲུག་སྟོལ་སྟོལ་བྱོས། ⁸རྩ་མང་དང་མང་དང་ཟེར་ན་རྩ་མོ་མོ་ལོ་བ་གསུམ་ལ་མང་
ལང་བྱོས། ⁹དཔར་བསྐྱེད་བཞི་ལོ་ནང་དུ་དཔར་བ་ཡག་ ¹⁰རྩ་ཁོག་སེར་པོ་ལོ་ན་བཟའ་ཡག་ ¹¹རྩ་ལ་དཔར་པོ་ལོ་སྤྱི་
རགས་ཡག་

¹²ལགས་སོ། ¹³ལགས་སོ།

¹'di dpyid zla gsum la btab tshul yag gi ²dbyar zla gsum la skye tshul
yag gi ³ston zla gsum la smin tshul yag gi ⁴rgya mo thor cog can gyis

bsdu tshul yag gi ⁵rgya ral ba can gyis btsong tshul yag gi ⁶ja bsnyal
dang bsnyal dang zer na ⁷a mas gces phrug snyol snyol byos ⁸ja lang
dang lang dang zer na rdza mgo'i smug pa lang lang byos ⁹dpar bgru
bzhi'i nang du dpar no yag ¹⁰ja tog ser po'i na bza' yag ¹¹ja la dmar
po'i ska rags yag

¹²lags so ¹³lags so

¹ར་བཀལ་ནས་རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང་། ²རྒྱ་གར་རྒྱལ་བོའི་ཕུག་ལ་བཞག ³རྒྱ་གར་རྒྱལ་བོས་གསེར་ཐམ་བརྒྱབ།
⁴ར་བཀལ་ནས་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་ལ་འགྲོ་གི ⁵རྒྱ་ནག་རྒྱལ་བོའི་ཕུག་ལ་བཞག ⁶རྒྱ་ནག་རྒྱལ་བོས་དངུལ་ཐམ་བརྒྱབ།
⁷ར་བཀལ་ནས་གངས་ཅན་བོད་དུ་ཡོང་། ⁸གངས་ཅན་བོད་ཀྱི་ལག་རྒྱ་བཞག ⁹གངས་ཅན་བོད་ཀྱིས་དུང་ཐམ་
བརྒྱབ། ¹⁰ར་ཐམ་སྒྲ་གསུམ་དེ་ནས་བྱུང་།

¹²ལགས་སོ། ¹³ལགས་སོ།

¹ja bkal nas rgya gar yul la song ²rgya gar rgyal bo'i phyag la bzhag
³rgya gar rgyal bos gser tham brgyab ⁴ja bkal nas rgya nag yul la 'gro
gi ⁵rgya nag rgyal bo'i phyag la bzhag ⁶rgya nag rgyal bos dngul tham
brgyab ⁷ja bkal nas gangs can bod du yong ⁸gangs can bod kyis lag tu
bzhag ⁹gangs can bod kyis dung tham brgyab ¹¹ja tham sna gsum de
nas byung

¹²lags so ¹³lags so

¹ར་བཙུང་མཁན་མི་མཐོ་ཉི་མཁན་མཐོ། ²ར་བཙུང་མཁན་ཆོད་དཔོན་ཉི་མ་ཡིན། ³ར་ཉི་མཁན་ཁ་བ་ཅན་འདི་
ཡིན། ⁴གོང་གཏམ་ཐམ་ཟེར་ན་ལ་ཨ་ཁུ་བརྒྱུ་ཡིས་རིན་གོང་གཙོད་གི ⁵ལུག་གཡང་དཀར་བརྒྱ་དང་ཆ་ཞིག་བཤད།
⁶ལ་དེ་ཆོ་ལུག་འདད་ཆེ་ནས་ཟེར་གི ⁷གོང་ད་དུང་ཅུང་ཙམ་དམའ་འདུག་ཟེར། ⁸མ་སྒྲ་མོ་བརྒྱུ་ཡིས་རིན་གོང་
གཙོད་གི ⁹འབྲི་ཐུལ་མ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཆ་ཞིག་ཟེར་གི ¹⁰གོང་ད་དུང་ཅུང་ཙམ་དམའ་འདུག་ཟེར་གི ¹¹སྒྲ་ན་དེ་ཆོ་འབྲི་
འདད་ཆེ་ནས་ཟེར་གི ¹²བུ་སྒྲག་ཕུག་བརྒྱུ་ཡིས་རིན་གོང་གཙོད་གི ¹³རྟ་འདོ་བ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཆ་ཞིག་ཟེར་གི ¹⁴བུ་དེ་
ཆོ་རྟ་འདད་ཆེ་ནས་ཟེར་གི ¹⁵གོང་བཅད་དང་བཅད་དང་ཟེར་ན། ¹⁶རྩོན་པོ་མཚོན་གྱིས་བཅད་འདྲ་རེད། ¹⁷སེལ་
དུར་རེར་སྒྲོར་མོ་ཡར་ལ་བཙུག་གི ¹⁸ཤོག་དུར་རེར་ར་ནག་ཚུར་ལ་སྒྲེར་གི ¹⁹མ་ར་རྩིས་ཆེ་བ་དེའི་དོན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

²⁰ལགས་སོ། ²¹ལགས་སོ།

¹ja btsong mkhan mi mtho nyo mkhan mtho ²ja btsong mkhan
tshong dpon nyi ma yin ³ja nyo mkhan kha ba can 'di yin ⁴gong gтам
thal zer na pha a khu brgya yis rin gong gcod gi ⁵lug g.yang dkar

brgya dang cha zhig bshad ⁶ pha de tsho lug 'dang che nas zer gi ⁷ gong da dung cung tsam dma' 'dug zer ⁸ ma sru mo brgya yis rin gong gcod gi ⁹ 'bri thul ma brgya dang cha zhig zer gi ¹⁰ gong da dung cung tsam dma' 'dug zer gi ¹¹ sman de tsho 'bri 'dang che nas zer gi ¹² bu stag phrug brgya yis rin gong gcod gi ¹³ rta 'do ba brgya dang cha zhig zer gi ¹⁴ bu de tsho rta 'dang che nas zer gi ¹⁵ gong bcad dang bcad dang zer na ¹⁶ rnon po mtshon gyis bcad 'dra red ¹⁷ sil dur rer sgor mo phar la brtsi gi ¹⁸ shog dur rer ja nag tshur la ster gi ¹⁹ ma ja rtsis che ba de'i don yin zer

²⁰ lags so ²¹ lags so

¹ མེ་འབར་དང་འབར་དང་ཟེར་ན། ² རྒྱལ་པ་ལྷ་ཤིང་གཤག་ན་འབར་གི། ³ བ་མ་དག་རྩལ་མནན་ན་འབར་གི།
⁴ སྟེན་མ་དག་མོ་ཐུག་ན་འབར་གི། ⁵ ཆེར་མ་དག་སྟོང་བཅག་ན་འབར་གི། ⁶ ལྷི་བ་གཡུང་རྩུང་སྟོང་ན་འབར་གི།
⁷ རེལ་མ་ཐེལ་རང་གཏོར་ན་འབར་གི། ⁸ དྲུང་པ་སྟོ་སྟེན་འབྲུག་འབྲུག་བྱེད་གི། ⁹ མེ་ལྷེ་ལྷོ་ག་དམར་འབྲུག་འབྲུག་བྱེད་གི།
¹⁰ མེ་ཡི་འབར་རྣམས་འབྲུག་རྣམས་ལྷིང་ལྷིང་བྱེད་གི།

¹¹ འགས་སོ། ¹² འགས་སོ།

¹ me 'bar dang 'bar dang zer na ² shug pa lha shing gshag na 'bar gi
³ bra ma dgra rtsub mnan na 'bar gi ⁴ spen ma dgra bo thug na 'bar gi
⁵ tsher ma dgra sgong bcag na 'bar gi ⁶ lci ba g.yung drung sgong na 'bar gi
⁷ ril ma the'u rang gtor na 'bar gi ⁸ dud pa lho sprin 'khrug 'khrug byed gi
⁹ me lce klog dmar 'khyug 'khyug byed gi ¹⁰ me yi 'bar sgra 'brug sgra ldir ldir byed gi

¹¹ lags so ¹² lags so

¹ ར་ཁོལ་ཐལ་ཁོལ་ཐལ་ཟེར་ན། ² ར་ལོང་སྐུག་ལོང་འབྲིབ་འབྲིབ་བྱེད་གི། ³ ར་ཟེགས་བརྒྱལ་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་བྱེད་གི།
⁴ ར་ལྷིང་ལུ་གུ་ཅེད་ཅེད་བྱེད་གི། ⁵ ར་ལོ་ཁ་ལ་ཡང་སེ་གཡེང་གི། ⁶ ར་ལོ་ཞབས་སུ་གཏུགས་སེ་འབབ་གི། ⁷ ར་དྲི་ཕུགས་བཞིར་བསྐྱུང་ངེ་འབྲུག་གི།

⁸ འགས་སོ། ⁹ འགས་སོ།

¹ ja khol thal khol thal zer na ² ja long smug long 'thib 'thib byed gi ³ ja zags rba rlabs 'phyur 'phyur byed gi ⁴ ja ldong lu gu rtsed rtsed byed gi
⁵ ja lo kha la yang se g.yeng gi ⁶ ja ro zhabs su gtugs se 'bab gi ⁷ ja dri phyogs bzhir bzung nge 'thul gi

⁸ lags so ⁹ lags so

¹འོ་མས་ཁ་མདོག་རྫོགས་ན་ཡག་གི ²མ་སྤྱད་དཔུང་རྩལ་ཅན་གྱིས་གྱེན་དུ་གཤུག་ན་ཡག་གི

³ལགས་སོ། ⁴ལགས་སོ།

¹'o mas kha mdog rdzogs na yag gi ²ma sru dpung rtsal can gyis gyen du g.yug na yag gi

³lags so ⁴lags so

¹སྤྲོན་རྒྱུད་གི་ལག་པ་གཡས་པའི་ནང་ན། ²དཀར་ཡོལ་འབྲུག་མ་ཡོད། ³འདིའི་ཁ་ན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཕྱི་བས་བརྒྱུད་ཡོད།

⁴སྤྲོད་ན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱུད་ཡོད། ⁵ཞབས་ན་པད་མ་འདབ་བརྒྱུད་ཡོད། ⁶འདིའི་ནང་ན་རྒྱ་རྩ་དམར་པོ་ཡོད།

⁷ཁ་ན་འབྲི་མར་སེར་པོ་ཡོད། ⁸ཡར་ལ་ཐེངས་གསུམ་ལུ་བཏབ་ན། ⁹རྒྱ་ཆེན་མོ་ཡུར་བརྒྱག་ནི་འདྲ་འདྲ། ¹⁰རྒྱར་

ལ་ལྷབ་གསུམ་བྱས་ན། ¹¹ལ་དམར་པོ་ལྷུང་བྱར་འཇུག་ནི་འདྲ་འདྲ། ¹²འདི་གཉིས་ཆང་ཆང་གི་སྟོན་རྩིན།

¹³བདག་གཞི་མགོན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཞེས་རོགས་གཞོངས།

¹⁴ལགས་སོ། ¹⁵ལགས་སོ།

¹sman chung gi lag pa g.yas pa'i nang na ²dkar yol 'brug ma yod ³'di'i kha na 'khor lo rtsibs brgyad yod ⁴sked na bkra shis rtags brgyad yod ⁵zhabs na pad ma 'dab brgyad yod ⁶'di'i nang na rgya ja dmar po yod ⁷kha na 'bri mar ser po yod ⁸phar la thengs gsum phu ttab na ⁹chu chen mo yur ba rgyug ni 'dra 'dra ¹⁰tshur la hub gsum byas na ¹¹wa dmar po khung bur ni 'dra 'dra ¹²'di gnyen tshang tshang gi ston ja yin ¹³bdag gzhi mgron gnyis kyis bzhes rogs gnongs

¹⁴lags so ¹⁵lags so

SUMMARY

The Tea Speech tells the story of two women who, as the sun rose, looked for water. They searched through forests and mountains and finally found a fresh spring. They did not fetch water from the surface of the spring, as it was defiled, and they did not fetch water from the bottom of the spring, as it smelled of mud – they fetched water from the center of the spring, because it was clean. The two women scooped the water with a gold ladle and poured it into a gold bucket tied with a gold sash. One woman lifted it onto her lap and finally put it on the other woman's back.

The women, almost crawling under the weight of their buckets, reached the groom's home, and poured the water into the red-mouthed pot on the three-headed adobe stove. Three buckets of

water were poured and considered adequate. Three scoops were added and it was considered inadequate. Three tea-bricks were added and it was considered adequate. Three handfuls of tea were added and it was considered inadequate.

The speaker then describes the origin of this tea that came from China, from the tops of both white and black *zung* tea¹⁶⁵ trees in the sunny fields. Remarkably, it was planted in the three spring months, grew in the three summer months, and ripened in the three fall months. It was collected by Chinese women with topknots and sold by Chinese men with single plaits. The tea was then brewed.

Three stamps were imprinted on the tea, which was transported to the hands of the King of India and stamped with a golden stamp. Then it was transported to the hands of the Emperor of China and stamped with a silver stamp. Then it was transported to the hands of the King of Tibet and stamped with a conch shell stamp.

The tea buyers were from Tibet and the price was negotiated by a hundred uncles. Though they valued their sheep, they traded a hundred sheep for a brick of tea and considered it cheap. A hundred women negotiated a low price. Though they valued their yaks, they traded a hundred female yaks for a brick of tea and considered it cheap. A hundred men negotiated the price. Though they valued their horses, they traded a hundred horses for a brick of tea and considered it cheap.

Cash was given to the Chinese, who returned bricks of tea. Women thus care about tea. The tea was boiled over a fire made from juniper, dry tamarisk, thorns, yak dung, and sheep droppings. Smoke was produced as if clouds had been stirred up. Crimson flames sparkled.

Vapors wafted out of the kettle, waves of boiling water crashed, tea leaves played like little lambs, a fragrant odor spread, and finally the tea was boiled. Mixing milk with the tea turned it a beautiful color. Aunts then offered tea to the deities.

Finally, a woman took a dragon-decorated bowl in her right hand. The bowl had the Eight-spoked Wheel¹⁶⁶ on top, the Eight

¹⁶⁵ Locals believe that horses were traded for brick tea from China during the Song Dynasty (960-1279). Brick tea received during that time was called *zung* and traded in today's Zung chu (Songpan) County, Rnga ba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, which lay between Tibet and China. It later became a main station on the Tea and Horse Route along which horses from Tibet were traded for tea.

¹⁶⁶ The eight spokes represent the Noble Eightfold Path of Buddhism that are able to cut through ignorance (http://www.buddhism-guide.com/buddhism/dharma_wheel.htm #The_eight-spoked_wheel_in_Buddhism, accessed 18 July 2014).

Auspicious Symbols in the middle, and the Eight Petaled Lotus¹⁶⁷ on the bottom. Red Chinese tea was inside and yellow yak butter was on top. This is the celebratory tea and a hope is expressed that all guests will drink it.

...

When the tea speech is finished, several women from the *gyen tshang* escort the bride to another room – her *bag ras*. The woman who gave the tea speech now carefully scoops tea for the *A zhang* into bowls decorated with dragons or the Eight Auspicious Symbols. As the bowls are filled with tea and passed to the *A zhang* with both hands,¹⁶⁸ an articulate man from the *gnyen tshang* warmly urges the *A zhang* to drink.

Photo 165. The *bag ras* 'bridal tent' is for a bride with two maids.



¹⁶⁷ The eight-petalled lotus used in Buddhist mandalas symbolizes cosmic harmony.

¹⁶⁸ Both hands are used to emphasize respect.

Photo 166. The bridesmaids care for the bride.



Photo 167. A bowl wrapped with a piece of wool is provided for the bride to drink tea.



Steamed dumplings stuffed with meat, fried vegetables, mutton, beef, pork, fried and baked bread, and noodles are served to the *A zhang*. Meanwhile, certain men from the *gnyen tshang* politely urge the *A zhang* to eat more. Women from the *gnyen tshang* busily prepare food for the *A zhang*. The dishes are served at intervals of about thirty minutes.

A LIQUOR SPEECH

Another ritual begins when the *A zhang* have eaten their fill. As with the preparation for the tea speech, the *A zhang* first provide a *kha btags* or long piece of *gos* to the *gnyen tshang*, then the *gnyen tshang* provide similar items to someone in their group who will give a liquor speech. The *gnyen tshang* enter the room in a group. An eloquent woman or a man stands in front of the *A zhang* with a bowl of *chang* in their left hand and a *kha btags* in the right. The *kha btags* and *gos* received from the *A zhang* and *gnyen tshang* are tied around their upper body. They give a liquor speech while aspersing liquor. Khe bhe gave the following liquor speech in 2005.

Photo 168. Liquor from Huzhu County is poured in a bowl wrapped with a piece of sheep wool and marked with butter prior to a liquor speech. The liquor bowl is held by the orator.



- ¹བདུད་ཅི་ཆང་གི་འབྲུང་ཁུངས་བཤད་ན།
- ²ཆང་བདུད་ཅི་འི་འབྲུང་ཁུངས་ནས་ཡིན་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
- ³ནས་དཀར་དུག་མའི་བཅུད་ཡིན་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
- ⁴ནས་དང་པོ་ལྷ་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ལ་བཅའ་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
- ⁵བར་ནས་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་ལ་བཅའ་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
- ⁶མཐའ་མ་སྐྱ་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ནས་རྟེན་ནས་ཟེར་གི།

- ¹bdud rtsi chang gi 'byung khungs bshad na
- ²chang bdud rtsi'i 'byung khungs nas yin nas zer gi
- ³nas dkar drug ma'i bcud yin nas zer gi
- ⁴nas dang po lha yul khams la btsal nas zer gi

5 bar nas 'jig rten khams la btsal nas zer gi
6 mtha' ma klu yul khams nad rnyes nas zer gi

7 ས་དོག་མོ་བློད་ཀྱིས་བློས་དུས་ན།
8 ལྷ་གཙང་བོ་ཆབ་མོམ་བཞུ་དུས་ན།
9 ལྷ་རྩས་སྒྲིན་སྒྲིབ་སྒྲིབ་བྱས་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
10 ས་བོན་ཆར་བ་འབབ་འབབ་བྱས་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
11 ལྷ་གཙང་བོ་གསོལ་རྩ་འབྲེན་འབྲེན་བྱས་ནས་ཟེར་གི།

7 sa dog mo drod kyis dros dus na
8 chu gtsang bo chab rom bzhu dus na
9 lud rdzas sman sna sdeb sdeb byas nas zer gi
10 sa bon char ba 'bab 'bab byas nas zer gi
11 chu gtsang bo gsol ja 'dren 'dren byas nas zer gi

12 དཔྱིད་ལྷ་གསུམ་ལ་འབྲས་སྒོལ་ཡག་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
13 གོས་ལྷ་སྒྲིག་ཐང་ལ་བཅིང་བཅིང་བྱས་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
14 དབྱར་ལྷ་གསུམ་ལ་སྦྱིན་སྒོལ་ཡག་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
15 ལྷ་སྒྲིག་ཐང་ལ་འབྲས་འབྲས་བྱས་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
16 སྦྱིན་ལྷ་གསུམ་ལ་སྦྱིན་སྒོལ་ཡག་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
17 གསེར་གཞོང་མར་བྱས་བཀའ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ནས་ཟེར་གི།

12 dpyid zla gsum la 'bus srol yag nas zer gi
13 gos ljang smug thang la bting bting byas nas zer gi
14 dbyar zla gsum la skyes srol yag nas zer gi
15 ljang myug rba rlabs 'phyur 'phyur byas nas zer gi
16 ston zla gsum la smin srol yag nas zer gi
17 gser gzhong mar khus bkang 'dra yin nas zer gi

18 ལྷ་ཐོར་གོར་མོའི་ཁྲག་ལ་བྲངས་ནས།
19 ཐང་མེ་མོང་འདྲ་བའི་གཡུལ་ཐོག་ནས།
20 སྦྱི་བསེར་མཐུན་པའི་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྦྱང་ནས།
21 རྒྱན་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱུད་ལ་བསྐྱར་ནས།
22 བདེན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཛོད་ལ་བཅུག་ནས།
23 ཆང་སྒྲལ་བའི་སྒྲུབས་ཁ་དེ་ནས་འགྲིག་ནས་ཟེར་གི།

18 rgya zor gor mo'i khug la blangs nas
 19 thang me long 'dra ba'i g.yul thog nas
 20 skyi bser mthun pa'i rlung la sprad nas
 21 rdzun ma thams cad rlung la bskur nas
 22 bden pa thams cad mdzod la bcug nas
 23 chang snyal ba'i stabs kha de nas 'grig nas zer gi

24 ལག་ལས་ཀ་ཅན་གྱི་མ་སྤྱུ་མ་ཚོས།
 25 མཁར་བ་དམར་པོའི་ཟངས་དཔེ་ནང་ལ།
 26 རྒྱ་དྲངས་མ་སྤྱུ་ནས་གད་དར་བྱེད་གི།
 27 ཤིང་ཤུག་པ་བདུག་ནས་དག་གཙང་བྱེད་གི།
 28 རྒྱ་ཐབ་བྱ་བཞིའི་ཁྱི་ལ་བསྐྱོན་ནས།
 29 རས་སྤོན་མོ་སྤྱུ་ནས་རྒྱ་དྲངས་བཙོས་བྱེད་གི།

24 lag las ka can gyi ma sru ma tshos
 25 mkhar ba dmar po'i zangs nga'i nang la
 26 chu dwangs ma blugs nas gad dar byed gi
 27 shing shug pa bdug nas dag gtsang byed gi
 28 rgya thab gru bzhi'i khri la bskyon nas
 29 nas sngon mo blugs nas rlangs btsos byed gi

30 སྤོད་རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་གྱི་སྤྱན་བསྐྱེས་གི།
 31 སྤོད་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཕབ་བསྐྱེས་གི།
 32 སྤོན་ཡངས་གཡུ་རྩ་མདུད་མོར་བསྐྱེས་ཐལ།
 33 ཐོ་ལ་བསྐྱེས་ནས་ཐོ་ཆང་བཙགས་ཐལ།
 34 ཐོ་ཆང་བདུད་རྩི་ཁམ་པ་བཙགས་ཐལ།
 35 ལྷ་ལ་བསྐྱེས་ནས་ལྷ་ཆང་བཙགས་ཐལ།
 36 ལྷ་ཆང་བདུད་རྩི་བསིལ་མ་བཙགས་ཐལ།
 37 ཞག་ལ་བསྐྱེས་ནས་ཞག་ཆང་བཙགས་ཐལ།
 38 དེ་ཡི་ཞིང་ཁུ་རྫོན་མོ་བཙགས་ཐལ།

30 stod rgya gar yul gyi sman bsres gi
 31 smad rgya nag yul gyi phab bsres gi
 32 khyon yangs g.yu rdza mdung mor bsnyal thal
 33 lo la bsnyal nas lo chang btsags thal
 34 lo chang bdud rtsi kham pa btsags thal

35 zla la bsnyal nas zla chang btsags thal
36 zla chang bdud rtsi bsil ma btsags thal
37 zhag la bsnyal nas zhag chang btsags thal
38 de yi nying khu dron mo btsags thal

39 ཆང་འཁོམ་འཁོམ་འབབ་དུས་ན།
40 ཤིང་ཅན་དན་འདྲ་བའི་དྲིཞིག་ཡོད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
41 མུ་རྟིག་འདྲ་བའི་མདོག་ཅིག་ཡོད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
42 ཆང་འཁོམ་འཁོམ་སྒྲ་ལ་མཆོད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
43 གོང་མ་ལྷ་ཡི་མཁོན་སྦྱབས་མཛད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།

39 chang 'go ma'i 'go ma 'bab dus na
40 shing tsan dan 'dra ba'i dri zhig yod nas zer gi
41 mu tig 'dra ba'i mdog cig yod nas zer gi
42 chang 'go ma'i 'go ma lha la mchod nas zer gi
43 gong ma lha yi mgon skyabs mdzad nas zer gi

44 ཆང་བར་མའི་བར་མ་འབབ་དུས་ན།
45 ཟས་བྱ་རམ་འདྲ་བའི་དྲིཞིག་ཡོད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
46 གཡུ་དྲུག་དཀར་འདྲ་བའི་མདོག་ཅིག་ཡོད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
47 ཆང་བར་མའི་བར་མ་གཉན་ལ་མཆོད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
48 བར་མ་གཉན་གྱི་གདོང་གོགས་མཛད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།

44 chang bar ma'i bar ma 'bab dus na
45 zas bu ram 'dra ba'i dri zhig yod nas zer gi
46 g.yu drug dkar 'dra ba'i mdog cig yod nas zer gi
47 chang b.rama'i bar ma gnyan la mchod nas zer gi
48 bar ma gnyan gyi gdong grogs mdzad nas zer gi

49 ཆང་གཞུག་མའི་གཞུག་མ་འབབ་དུས་ན།
50 ཟས་སེལ་རྟོག་འདྲ་བའི་དྲིཞིག་ཡོད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
51 ཤེལ་དྲངས་མོ་འདྲ་བའི་མདོག་ཅིག་ཡོད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
52 ཆང་གཞུག་མ་འོག་མ་སྒྲ་ལ་མཆོད་ནས་ཟེར་གི།
53 སྒྲ་གདོངས་ཅན་དབྱེས་ནས་དངོས་གྲུབ་སྦྱོལ་ནས་ཟེར་གི།

49 chang gzhug ma'i gzhug ma 'bab dus na
 50 zas sil tog 'dra ba'i dri zhig yod nas zer gi
 51 shel dwangs mo 'dra ba'i mdog cig yod nas zer gi
 52 chang gzhug ma 'og ma klu la mchod nas zer gi
 53 klu gdeng can dgyes nas dngos grub stsol nas zer gi

54 བདུད་ཅི་ཆང་གི་ཆེ་བ་རེ་བཟོད་ན།
 55 སྟེ་ཕང་ཆང་གི་སྒྲ་ཁུ་འདི།
 56 སྟེང་ལྷ་ལ་མཆོད་ན་མཆོད་པ་ཡིན།
 57 བར་གཉན་ལ་མཆོད་ན་གསེར་སྟེམས་ཡིན།
 58 འོག་ཀླུ་ལ་མཆོད་ན་བདུད་ཅི་ཡིན།

54 bdud rtsi chang gi che ba re brjod na
 55 skye phang chang gi sna khu 'di
 56 steng lha la mchod na mchod pa yin
 57 bar gnyan la mchod na gser skyems yin
 58 'og klu la mchod na bdud rtsi yin

59 བཏངས་ཀྱི་རེ་གཉི་གའི་སྟོ་འབྱེད་ཡིན།
 60 སྟེ་ཅེད་རིག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསུ་མ་ཡིན།
 61 ཏྲགས་དང་སྟོན་མོའི་རྒྱན་ཆ་ཡིན།
 62 སྟེ་གཟི་བཟོད་ཅན་གྱི་སྟེ་མཁོན་ཆོས།
 63 ལྷགས་དལ་དལ་བྱས་ནས་ཆང་རེས་འོངས།
 64 ཏྲ་རིན་ཞིག་ཅེད་ལྷག་རིན་ཞིག་དགོད་རྒྱ་ནི་འདིར་ཆོགས་ཁྲོམ་པའི་རེ་བ་ཡིན།

59 gtam ku re gnyi ga'i sgo 'byed yin
 60 glu rtsed rig gnyis kyi bsu ma yin
 61 rtags dang ston mo'i rgyan cha yin
 62 sku gzi brjid can gyi sku mgron tshos
 63 thugs dal dal byas nas chang ris longs
 64 rta rin zhig rtsed lug rin zhig dgod rgyu ni 'dir tshogs khrom pa'i
 re ba yin

SUMMARY

The Liquor Speech begins with the story of the origin of the nectar called *chang* made from barley. The heavens were searched for the first barley, then the human world, and finally it was found in the underworld of the naga. As the ground warmed and water became

plentiful, barley was planted and fertilized. It was planted in the three months of spring and grew in the three months of summer when the waves of green plants resembled waves of green water. It ripened in the three months of autumn, resembling a full container of yellow butter. It was harvested and threshed in the wind to obtain the best barley grain, which was used for brewing. With clean pots, women steamed the barley grain, that was then brewed with herbs from China and India, and mixed with fresh spring water. It was brewed yearly, monthly, and daily.

When the first *chang* was produced, it smelled like sandalwood and had the color of pearls. The first *chang* was offered as *gser skyems* 'golden drink' to heavenly deities, who bestowed blessings in return. The second *chang* was produced and tasted sweet, and had the color of white turquoise. It was offered to mountain deities who became friendly to locals. The third *chang* was produced and tasted like fruit, and had the color of crystal glass. It was offered to the naga who bestowed blessings in return. This *chang* became an offering to heavenly deities - ambrosia offered to mountain deities, and nectar offered to naga. It initiates laughter, welcomes dance and song, and is the beauty of celebrations. The speaker ends by entreating the honored guests to take time to enjoy *chang*.

...

As soon as the speech concludes, small decorated bowls are handed to every *A zhang*. Many bottles of liquor are brought to fill the cups. Now the time for the *A zhang* to drink has come, while the *gnyen tshang* are ushered into other rooms or into the courtyard to eat and drink. Eating too much at a wedding is considered to be impolite both for the *gnyen tshang* and *A zhang*. Families who cannot afford it do not offer food for all the *gnyen tshang*, but honoring the *A zhang* is of paramount importance, as reflected by the local saying, "Though the wedding may be prestigious, guests' hunger is terrible." Therefore, parents encourage children to eat at home before attending wedding ceremonies. Another proverb emphasizes the importance of *A zhang* that day, "*A zhang* for a day, parents for life."

Shortly after the *A zhang* have sipped some *chang*, a short speech is given by a man from the *gnyen tshang*. Next, a few *A zhang* give short speeches.

A speech from the *gnyen tshang* follows:

¹ ཡ། དེ་རིང་ཡིན་ན།

² རྟགས་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འགོ་རེད།

3 ར་མེ་རྟོག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཡོ་རེད།

¹ ya de ring yin na

² rtags rten 'brel gnyis kyi 'go red

³ ja me tog gnyis kyi yo red

4 འདི་གྲགས་པ་དང་སངས་རྒྱས་གཉིས་ཀ

5 གནའ་ནས་བརྒྱད་

6 ཉེ་དགུའི་ཉེ་བོ་ཡིན།

7 ཁིས་དགུའི་ལབ་རྩེ་ཡིན།

4 'di grags pa dang sangs rgyas gnyis ka

5 gna' nas bzung

6 nye dgu'i nye bo yin

7 khis dgu'i lab rtse yin

8 ཁ་སང་དེ་རིང་།

9 གྲགས་པ་ཚང་གི་བྱ་རྒྱ་བ་དང་དེད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གི་བྱ་མོ་སྟོལ་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས།

10 རང་དབང་རང་འཐད་ཀྱིས་གཉེན་བསྐྱེགས་ནས།

11 རང་སྟོར་བྲན་ན་བཞུལ་མེད་དང་།

12 མེད་མདོ་ཆད་ན་མཐུད་མེད་ཡིན་ཞེས།

13 ཡུལ་པ་མས་མ་ཁོགས་ཤོར་སོང་ཟེག

14 ལམ་སྟུ་མོར་མ་ཞུགས་བྱོལ་བཏང་ན།

8 kha sang de ring

9 grags pa tshang gi bu zla ba dang nged sangs rgyas tshang gi bu mo
sgrol ma gnyis kyis

10 rang dbang rang 'thud kyis gnyen bsgrigs nas

11 rang blor dran na bshol med dang

12 rmed mdo chad na mthud med yin zhes

13 yul pha mas ma khogs shor song zig

14 lam skya mor ma zhugs gzhol btang na

15 བྱེད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གིས།

16 ཉེ་བོར་ཉེ་འདང་བརྒྱབ་སྟེ།

17 འག་པོར་འག་འདང་བརྒྱབ་པ་ཤེས་ནི་རེད།

15 khyed sangs rgyas tshang gis
 16 nye bor nye 'dang brgyab ste
 17 shag por shag 'dang brgyab pa shes ni red

18 དེ་རིང་ཁྱེད་རྣམ་པས་ས་ཐག་རིང་ནས་བྱད་དེ།
 19 ཏྲ་འདྲོ་བར་ཐོང་རྩལ་ཡུད་ནས།
 20 སྤྱིན་ནག་པོ་ཐོང་ལ་བཟུང་ནས།
 21 ས་རིང་པོ་འདྲོམ་ལ་འཇལ་དེ་ཐོན་ན།

18 de ring khyed rnam pas sa thag ring nas bud de
 19 rta 'do bar thong rngul phud nas
 20 sprin nag po thod la bzung nas
 21 sa ring po 'dom la 'jal de thon na

22 རེད་གྲགས་པ་ཚང་གིས་ཡང་།
 23 ཁིས་ཆེན་གསུམ་ལ་ཁ་བརྟགས་འཐེན་ཡོད།
 24 ལམ་ཆེན་གསུམ་ལ་འབབ་རྟེན་འཐེན་ཡོད།
 25 ཁྱོད་ཏྲ་ར་རའི་ཐོང་ནས་འབབ་སྤྱད་ཡིན།
 26 གདན་གྲུ་བཞིའི་སྟེང་ནས་བཟུགས་སྤྱད་ཡིན།
 27 ཁྱེད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་ཞེ་ན།
 28 སྤྱག་པོར་མཆེད་པའི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་རེད།
 29 གཡུ་མཚོར་མཆེད་པའི་ར་ལག་རེད།

22 nged grags pa tshang gis yang
 23 khis chen gsum la kha btags 'then yod
 24 lam chen gsum la 'bab gtan 'then yod
 25 khyod rta ra ra'i gong nas 'bab spyad yin
 26 gdan gru bzhi'i steng nas bzhugs spyad yin
 27 khyed sangs rgyas tshang zhe na
 28 smug por mched pa'i gdung rgyud red
 29 g.yu mtshor mched pa'i ra lag red

30 རེད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་ལ་མཚོན་ནའང་།
 31 མི་རབས་བརྒྱད་གྱི་དཔོན་རབས་ཡོད་ནི་རེད།
 32 མི་རྣམས་གསུམ་གྱི་མི་རབས་ཡོད་ནི་རེད།

30 nged sangs rgyas tshang la mtshon na'ang
31 mi rabs brgyad kyi dpon rabs yod ni red
32 mi rgan gsum gyi mi rabs yod ni red

33 སྟོན་པ་ཆགས་པའི་གངས་རི་ཡོད།
34 མི་རྩ་དཔོན་ཕྱག་གྲགས་པ་ཡོད།

33 srid pa chags pa'i gangs ri yod
34 mi ngo dpon phrug grags pa yod

35 གང་ནས་བཤད་རུང་།
36 ལུ་ཁ་གཉིས་ཀ
37 སྟོན་གངས་རིའི་དབུ་ཅེ་མཐོ་ས་ཡིན།
38 སྟོན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྒྱ་གཞིར་ཟབ་ས་ཡིན།

35 gang nas bshad rung
36 'u kha gnyis ka
37 stod gangs ri'i dbu rtse mtho sa yin
38 smad rgya mtsho'i chu gting zab sa yin

39 རི་རྒྱུད་དེད་ནས་ལ་བ་ཅེ་བརྩེགས་ཡོད།
40 མི་རྒྱུད་དེད་ནས་ཉེ་ཡ་བཅའ་ཡོད།
41 རྒྱུད་དེད་ནས་མཚོ་མོ་བསྐྱེལ་ཡོད།

39 ri rgyud ded nas lab rtse brtsigs yod
40 mi rgyud ded nas nye ya btsal yod
41 chu rgyud ded nas mtsho mo bskyil yod

42 དེ་རིང་ཉིན་བཟང་སྐར་བཟང་ལ།
43 ལུ་བུ་མོའི་དོན་དག་གི་སྟེང་ནས།
44 སྟོན་ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་བརྩི་དགོས་བ་དང་བཀྱར་དགོས་པ།
45 དས་ཐེག་ཐེག་གླུ་པའི་གཙུག་བྱེད།
46 མི་ཐེག་ཕྱག་པའི་ཁེ་བྱེད།
47 སྟོན་ལ་བཤད་གསུང་ཅི་ཡོད་ན།
48 ལྷ་མས་ཅི་གསུང་ཆོས་ཡིན།

49 མཇུབ་མོ་གང་བསྟན་ཤར་ཡིན།

42 de ring nyin bzang skar bzang la
43 bu bu mo'i don dag gi steng nas
44 khyed a zhang tshang brtsi dgos ba dang bkur dgos pa
45 ngas theg theg klad pa'i gtsug byed
46 mi theg phreg pa'i khe byed
47 khyed la bshad gsung ci yod na
48 bla mas ci gsung chos yin
49 mdzub mo gang bstan shar yin

50 དེད་གྲགས་པ་ཚང་ཡང་།

51 རྩེ་བླ་མ་མ་གཏོགས་སྟུར་མ་ཐུང་།

52 ཡུལ་པ་མ་མ་གཏོགས་བཀྱར་མ་ཐུང་།

53 ཡིན་ཡང་།

54 ཉིན་གཅིག་ལ་བཀྱར་དགོས་པ་ཨ་ཁང་དང་།

55 ཆེ་གཅིག་ལ་བཀྱར་དགོས་པ་པ་མ་ཡིན།

56 དེ་མ་གཏོགས་ཆེན་པོ་བཤད་རྒྱ་མེད།

50 nged grags pa tshang yang
51 rje bla ma ma gtogs sgur ma myong
52 yul pha ma ma gtogs bkur ma myong
53 yin yang
54 nyin gcig la bkur dgos pa a zhang dang
55 tshe gcig la bkur dgos pa pha ma yin
56 de ma gtogs chen po bshad rgyu med

SUMMARY

The speech announces the start of an auspicious day. The Grags pa and Sangs rgyas families have a long history of cordial relations that continues today. The two youths decided voluntarily to marry and Sangs rgyas has agreed to the marriage, taking into consideration the long period of good relations between the two families. The *gnyen tshang* men provided *kha btags* at three different hilltops and provided *'bab gtan* at three different intersections. These were traditionally provided for the *A zhang* when they dismounted their horses, and square pieces of felt were provided to sit on in this home.

The *gnyen tshang* spokesman then emphasizes that both families have successful, long family lineages, by naming the records of tribal leaders and *bla ma* in each family. He concludes the speech

by pointing out the importance of respecting the *A zhang*, especially on the wedding day.

The *A zhang*'s speech follows:

¹ ཡ་ད་གཉེན་ཚང་ཚང་གིས་མང་པོ་བཤད་ཐལ།

² ངས་ཚིག་གསུམ་གྱིས་ཁ་བད་བྱེད་ཡ།

¹ ya da gnyen tshang tshang gis mang po bshad thal

² ngas tshig gsum gyis kha brda byed ya

³ དེ་རིང་མཚན་ན་དག་ལྟ་འཁོར་བའི་ཉི་མ།

⁴ རྒྱགས་ན་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡག་གི་ཉི་མ།

⁵ འདི་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་གྲགས་པ་ཚང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས།

⁶ མཛའ་མཐུན་གསེར་གྱི་ཟམ་པ་བཅུགས་ནས།

⁷ བུ་བུ་མོས་གཉེན་བསྐྱིགས་དར་གྱི་མདུད་པ་བརྒྱབ།

⁸ དེ་རིང་རྟགས་སྟོན་མོའི་སྦྱིད་དགའ་མོངས་སྦྱོད་ཉི་མ་རེད།

⁹ གཉེན་དང་ཐོད་པའི་ཁ་ཡིག

¹⁰ སྦྱིད་པའི་བཀའ་ཡིག

³ de ring mchod na dgra lha 'khor ba'i nyi ma

⁴ rgyugs na rten 'brel yag gi nyi ma

⁵ 'di sangs rgyas dang grags pa tshang gnyis kyis

⁶ mdza' mthun gser gyi zam pa btsugs nas

⁷ bu bu mos gnyen bsgrigs dar gyi mdud pa brgyab

⁸ de ring rtags ston mo'i skyid dga' longs spyod nyi ma red

⁹ gnyen dang thod pa'i kha yig

¹⁰ srid pa'i bka' yig

¹¹ བུ་བུ་མོའི་སྦྱིད་ནས་ང་ལ་བཤད་རྒྱུའི་ཚིག་གསུམ་ཡོད།

¹² སྦྱི་ཚིགས་གསེར་རྟིང་གང་ལ་མཚན་ཡང་།

¹³ རང་སྦྱོར་བྲན་ན་བཞེལ་མེད།

¹⁴ མེད་མདོ་ཆད་ན་མཐུད་མེད།

¹⁵ རང་སྦྱོར་ཁ་བཀའ།

¹⁶ རང་རྟེན་སྐྱབས་སྦྱོར་དེ།

¹¹ bu bu mo'i steng nas nga la bshad rgyu'i tshig gsum yod
¹² spyi tshogs gsar rnying gang la mtshon yang
¹³ rang blur dran na bshol med
¹⁴ rmed mdo chad na mthud med
¹⁵ rang blur kha bkai
¹⁶ rang rtar sga bstad de

¹⁷ སྐབས་དེར་མཚན་ན།
¹⁸ བྱེད་བར་བ་གཉིས་ཀས།
¹⁹ དར་དཀར་པོའི་ཁ་བཏགས་འདྲིམ་ལ་འཇལ་ནས།
²⁰ ཏྲ་ར་རའི་སྐབ་མདའ་དར་ལ་བརྒྱས་ནས།
²¹ ཅག་སེར་བུའི་ཐོང་ཚུ་ཕུད་ནས།
²² ཏྲ་འདྲི་བའི་ཐོང་རྩལ་ཕུད་དེ།
²³ དེད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚང་གི་སྒོ་ཁར་བུད་དེ་གོ་ཁར་ཅོག་ཐལ།

¹⁷ skabs der mtshon na
¹⁸ khyod bar ba gnyis kas
¹⁹ dar dkar po'i kha btags 'dom la 'jal nas
²⁰ rta ra ra'i srab mda' dar la brgyus nas
²¹ tsag ser bu'i thong rtsa phud nas
²² rta 'do ba'i thong rngul phud de
²³ nged sangs rgyas tshang gi sgo khar bud de go khar tsog thal

²⁴ མགོ་ཕྱག་གི་སྒྲ་མ་ཡིན།
²⁵ འུ་བུ་བུ་ཕྱག་གི་གཞུག་མ་ཡིན།
²⁶ བྱེད་རྣམ་པ་ཚང་མར་དེ་རིང་།
²⁷ འོན་རྩལ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན།
²⁸ སེམས་ན་སྐྱུག་ཅིག་ཡོད་ན།
²⁹ ངས་དེ་རིང་བཤགས་ནི་ཡིན།

²⁴ mgo phyag gi snga ma yin
²⁵ nywa gug gug phyag gi gzhug ma yin
²⁶ khyed rnam pa tshang mar de ring
²⁷ ngo na rdul zhig yod na
²⁸ sems na sdug cig yod na
²⁹ ngas de ring bshags ni yin

30 ལུ་ཁ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས།
 31 ཉེ་བྱས་ན་འབྲེགས་ས་འཕྲོད་ས་ཡིན།
 32 མོ་བཏབ་ན་སྐྱེ་ས་འབྲུངས་ས་ཡིན་ཞེས།
 33 སྤྱ་མཐིང་སྤྱག་ཁ་རུ་སྟོར་བསྟོར་ཡོད།
 34 མ་བུ་མོའི་ཐོད་པ་གནས་བསྟོར་ཡོད།

30 'u kha gnyis kyis
 31 nye byas na 'khregs sa 'phrod sa yin
 32 lo btab na skye sa 'khrungs sa yin zhes
 33 sbra mthing smug kha ru lhor bskor yod
 34 ma bu mo'i thod pa gnas bskor yod

35 དེ་རིང་བུ་མོ་ཨ་ཞང་མང་པོས་བསྐྱུལ་ནས།
 36 མིང་སྤྱིང་མང་པོས་བསྐྱོར་ནས།
 37 བུ་མོ་ལག་སྟོང་མིན་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ལ།
 38 གོས་སྟེང་འོག་བརྒྱད་དང་ཕྱག་འཇག་འཁོ་གཅིག་ཡོད།
 39 བྱེད་གཉེན་ཚང་ཚང་གིས་ཐུགས་དང་ཐོད་པ་དབྱེས་དགོས།
 40 སེམས་དང་བསམ་པ་མཐུན་དགོས།
 41 འདི་མང་གི་ཉུང་གི་ཞེས་ཁ་འཕྲས་སྟོང་འཕྲས་གཏོང་མི་ཉན།

35 de ring bu mo a zhang mang pos bskyal nas
 36 ming sring mang pos bskyor nas
 37 bu mo lag stong min lta bu zhig la
 38 gos steng 'og brgyad dang phrug 'thag 'go gcig yod
 39 khyed gnyen tshang tshang gis thugs dang thod pa dgyes dgos
 40 sems dang bsam pa mthun dgos
 41 'di mang gi nyung gi zhes kha 'phyas snying 'phyas gtong mi nyan

SUMMARY

The *A zhang* declares that this auspicious day was destined for the youths to be married. Now the friendship of the two families has been settled. Even though this marriage was not arranged by the parents, the matchmakers tried their best throughout the negotiations. He apologizes if anything was said during negotiations that made the matchmakers uncomfortable. Finally, the *A zhang* describes how cheerful the wedding is and gives the *gnyen tshang* eight different bolts of cloth and bundles of *phrug*.

After the speeches, a man from the *gnyen tshang* politely urges the *A zhang* to drink more *chang*.

Photo 169. A local man prepares liquor for *A zhang* to drink during a wedding.



Photo 170. Two men from the groom's side prepare tea for A zhang.



Photo 171. A man from the *gnyen tshang* group hospitably encourages the A zhang to drink more.



SONGS TO ENLIVEN THE BANQUET

A group of three to six *gnyen tshang* women enter the room with the *A zhang* or, if there are many *gnyen tshang* women, the groom's family arranges for the *A zhang* and everyone else to come sit in the courtyard, where the ground is covered with cushions. A woman begins singing a *glu* 'folksong' while holding a white *kha btags*. After finishing her *glu*, she usually gives the *kha btags* to a younger *A zhang*. The chosen *A zhang* responds by singing *glu*. The singing continues in this fashion. The following songs are from Khe bhe and 'Jam dbyangs skyabs.

Song One¹⁶⁹

¹ ལྷ་འགོ་མ་ཉིན་ཁའི་མཚན་རྟེན་རེད།

² འདི་བཞེངས་ན་སྤྲིག་གི་བ་འདག་ནི་རེད།

¹ glu 'go ma nyin kha'i mchod rten red

² 'di bzhengs na sdig grib 'dag ni red

¹ The beginning of the song is a stupa in the sunshine.

² It erases sins if we build it.

³ ལྷ་བར་མ་ཁིས་ཆེན་ལབ་རྩེ་རེད།

⁴ འདི་བསྐྱད་ན་དག་ལྷ་འཁོར་ནི་རེད།

³ glu bar ma khis chen lab rtse red

⁴ 'di bstad na dgra lha 'khor ni red

³ The middle of the song is a *lab rtse* above the valley.

⁴ It brings the warrior deity if we hold the *lab rtse* ritual.

⁵ ལྷ་གཞུག་མ་ཆུ་ཆེན་ཟམ་པ་རེད།

⁶ འདི་བསྐྱུན་ན་བསམ་དོན་འགྱུ་བ་ནི་རེད།

⁵ glu gzhus ma chu chen zam pa red

⁶ 'di bskrun na bsam don 'grub ni red

¹⁶⁹ Songs beginning at this point in the text to the end of this book were provided by Khe bhe, 'Jam dbyangs skyabs, Lha sgron, and 'Brug thar rgyal, unless otherwise indicated.

⁵ The end of the song is a bridge over a big river.

⁶ It fulfills wishes if we build it.

Song Two

¹ ལྷ་ལེན་ན་ལྷ་ཆེན་མདུན་ནས་ལེན།

² རང་ལྷ་ཕུག་དགོང་ཁ་ཤོར་ནི་ལེན།

¹ glu len na lha chen mdun nas len

² nang lha phrug dgod kha shor ni len

¹ (Let me) sing before the holy deities.

² (Let me) sing to make the deities' children laugh.

³ ལྷ་ལེན་ན་དཔོན་ཆེན་མདུན་ནས་ལེན།

⁴ དཔོན་ཆེན་པོས་གནང་གྱིན་བྱེད་ནི་ལེན།

³ glu len na dpon chen mdun nas len

⁴ dpon chen pos gnang spyin byed ni len

³ (Let me) sing before the great leader.

⁴ (Let me) sing to encourage the leaders to present rewards.

⁵ ལྷ་ལེན་ན་ཁྲོམ་པའི་གྲལ་ནས་ལེན།

⁶ རང་ཁྲོམ་པའི་ལྷ་ལེན་རྫོགས་ནི་ལེན།

⁵ glu len na khrom pa'i gral nas len

⁶ nang khrom pa'i glu len rdzogs ni len

⁵ (Let me) sing among the crowd.

⁶ (Let me) sing to make the crowd run out of songs.

Song Three

¹ ཆང་འཇུང་ན་མ་བྱས་འཇུང་འཇུང་བྱེད།

² བྱ་མ་བྱ་ཆང་གིས་བཞི་རྒྱ་མེད།

¹ chang 'thung na rma byas 'thung 'thung byed

² bya rma bya chang gis bzi rgyu med

- ¹ Drink *chang* like peacocks drink,
² Peacocks are never drunk drinking *chang*.

³ ཤ་ཅ་ན་ཤོད་པོས་ཅ་ཅ་བྱེད།
⁴ བྱ་ཤོད་པོས་ཅོས་པ་ཡག་རབས་ལྟོས།

- ³ sha za na rgod pos za za byed
⁴ bya rgod pos zos pa yag rabs ltos

- ³ Eat meat like vultures eat,
⁴ Look how perfectly vultures eat.

⁵ ལྷ་ལེན་ན་ཁུ་བྱུག་གྲག་གྲག་བྱེད།
⁶ བྱ་ཁུ་ལོ་འི་གསུང་སྐད་སྒྲན་པ་ལྟོས།

- ⁵ glu len na khu byug grag grag byed
⁶ bya khu lo'i gsung skad snyan pa ltos

- ⁵ Sing like cuckoos sing,
⁶ Look how perfectly cuckoos sing.

Song Four

¹ དགུང་ཨ་སྒོན་དབྱིངས་ལ་ཉི་མ་འཛོམས།
² སྐྱ་རེངས་ཤར་གྱི་འདུན་མ་ཡོང།
³ འདི་འདུན་མ་ཡོང་ན་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བློ།

- ¹ dgung a sngon dbyings la nyi zla 'dzoms
² skya rengs shar gyi 'dun ma yong
³ 'di 'dun ma yong na rgyal kham dro

- ¹ The sun and moon gathered in the mid-sky,
² And predawn comes as a companion from the east,
³ The world is warmed by the companion.

⁴ འདི་བར་སྐྱང་ཁམས་དང་དོག་མོས།
⁵ སྐྱང་ཆར་བསེལ་མའི་འདུན་མ་ཡོང།
⁶ འདི་འདུན་མ་ཡོང་ན་སེམས་ཅན་སྦྱིད།

⁴ 'di bar snang khams dang dog mo sa
⁵ sbrang char bsil ma'i 'dun ma yong
⁶ 'di 'dun ma yong na sems can skyid

⁴ The spacious sky and narrow earth,
⁵ Drizzling rains come as a companion,
⁶ All sentient beings are pleased by the companion.

⁷ དེ་རིང་ཁྲོམ་ལ་ན་ལྷ་འཛོམས།
⁸ ཁ་མཚན་གླུ་ཡི་འདུན་མ་ཡོང་།
⁹ འདི་འདུན་མ་ཡོང་ན་ཁྲོམ་པ་སྦྱིད།

⁷ de ring khrom la na zla 'dzoms
⁸ kha mtshar glu yi 'dun ma yong
⁹ 'di 'dun ma yong na khrom pa skyid

⁷ Peers gathered in this crowded place today,
⁸ Humorous songs came as a companion,
⁹ The crowd is delighted by the companion.

Song Five

¹ ཆང་འགོ་མ་འཐུང་ནས་མཚན་པ་འཕེན།
² ངས་མཚན་པ་གླུ་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ལ་འཕེན།
³ སྟོད་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཆངས་བའི་ཕོ་བྲང་རེད།
⁴ ལྷ་གླུ་མོས་མགོན་སྐྱབས་བྱེད་ས་རེད།

¹ chang 'go ma 'thung nas mchod pa 'phen
² ngas mchod pa lha yul khams la 'phen
³ stod lha chen tshangs ba'i pho brang red
⁴ lha lha mos mgon skyabs byed sa red

¹ (Let me) offer *chang* when drinking starts,
² I offer *chang* to the realm of the gods,
³ It is the palace of great Brahma above,
⁴ It is the place where the gods and goddesses protect us.

⁵ ཆང་བར་མ་འཐུང་ནས་མཚན་པ་འཕེན།
⁶ ངས་མཚན་པ་གླུ་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ལ་འཕེན།

7 ལྷ་དུ་ལྷོང་དཀར་པོའི་ཕོ་བྲང་རེད།
8 ལྷ་ལྷོ་ས་དངོས་ལྷུང་གནང་ས་རེད།

5 chang bar ma 'thung nas mchod pa 'phen
6 ngas mchod pa klu yul khams la 'phen
7 klu dung skyong dkar po'i pho brang red
8 klu klu mos dngos grub gnang sa red

5 (Let me) offer *chang* in the middle of drinking,
6 I offer *chang* to the naga domains,
7 It is the palace of the naga king, Dung skyong,
8 It is the place where the nagas and neginis offer great accomplishments.

9 ཆང་གཞུག་མ་འབྲུང་ནས་མཚོད་པ་འཕེན།
10 ངས་མཚོད་པ་སྤྱུ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ལ་འཕེན།
11 བ་ཨ་ཁུ་འི་སྤྱུ་ཆེ་བརྟན་ས་རེད།
12 བ་ཁ་ལྷོས་སྤྱུ་དབྱངས་ལེན་ས་རེད།

9 chang gzhug ma 'thung nas mchod pa 'phen
10 ngas mchod pa sku rgyal bod la 'phen
11 pha a khu'i sku tshe brtan sa red
12 nang na zlas glu dbyangs len sa red

9 (Let me) offer *chang* as drinking ends,
10 I offer *chang* to Tibet,
11 The place where fathers and paternal uncles have long lives,
12 The place where young friends sing.

Song Six

1 ལྷོད་རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་གྱི་ས་ཆ་ན།
2 ལྷ་ར་ན་སི་གོང་ཁྱེད་ཡོད།
3 སངས་རྒྱས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གདན་ས་ཡིན།
4 རྗེ་ཤུག་ལྷུང་པས་ཆོས་འཁོར་བསྐྱོར།
5 ངས་ཡང་ཡང་བསྐྱོར་བའི་སྤྱུ་ཞིག་ལེན།

1 stod rgya gar yul gyi sa cha na
2 wA ra nA si'i grong khyer yod

³ sangs rgyas chos kyi gdan sa yin
⁴ rje shAkya thub pas chos 'khor bskor
⁵ ngas yang yang bskor ba'i glu zhig len

¹ In India, the upper land,
² Is the city of Varanasi,
³ It is the seat of Buddha Dharma,
⁴ Shakyamuni turned the Dharma Wheel,
⁵ (Let me) sing in the hope it will be turned again and again.

⁶ སྟོན་དབུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་གྱི་ས་ཆ་ན།
⁷ རོ་ཏ་ལ་ཡི་གནས་མཆོག་ཡོད།
⁸ ལྷ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་གདན་ས་ཡིན།
⁹ རྗེ་བློ་བཟང་གྲགས་པས་ཆོས་འཁོར་བསྐྱོར།
¹⁰ ངས་ཡང་ཡང་བསྐྱོར་བའི་སྤྱུ་ཞིག་ལེན།

⁶ stod dbus gtsang yul gyi sa cha na
⁷ po ta la yi gnas mchog yod
⁸ lha spyan ras gzigs kyi gdan sa yin
⁹ rje blo bzang grags pas chos 'khor bskor
¹⁰ ngas yang yang bskor ba'i glu zhig len

⁶ In Dbus gtsang, the upper land,
⁷ Is the holy place of the Potala Palace,
⁸ It is the seat of Avalokiteśvara,¹⁷⁰
⁹ Tsong kha pa turned the Dharma Wheel,
¹⁰ (Let me) sing in the hope that it will be turned again and again.

¹¹ སྤང་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་གྱི་ས་ཆ་ན།
¹² རྒྱ་ནག་རི་བོ་རྩེ་ལྗོད།
¹³ ལྷ་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་གདན་ས་ཡིན།
¹⁴ གསུང་ཡི་གེ་དྲག་མས་ཆོས་འཁོར་བསྐྱོར།
¹⁵ ངས་ཡང་ཡང་བསྐྱོར་བའི་སྤྱུ་ཞིག་ལེན།

¹¹ smad rgya nag yul gyi sa cha na
¹² rgya nag ri bo rtse lnga yod
¹³ lha 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi gdan sa yin

¹⁷⁰ Spyian ras gzigs in Tibetan.

¹⁴ gsung yi ge drug mas chos 'khor bskor

¹⁵ ngas yang yang bskor ba'i glu zhig len

¹¹ In China, the lower land,

¹² Is Mount Wutai,¹⁷¹

¹³ It is the seat Mañjushri,¹⁷²

¹⁴ The Dharma Wheel of the Six Syllable Mantra was turned,

¹⁵ (Let me) sing in the hope that it will be turned again and again.

Song Seven

¹ ལྷོད་གངས་དཀར་ཏི་སེ་སེང་གེ་རྫོང་།

² སེང་གཡུ་རལ་རྒྱས་པའི་སྤྱུ་ཞིག་ལེན།

¹ stod gangs dkar ti se seng ge'i rdzong

² seng g.yu ral rgyas pa'i glu zhig len

¹ The Kailash Snow Mountain in the Upper Land is the castle of lions,

² (Let me) sing a song that makes the snow lion's turquoise mane grow.

³ ལྷོད་མཐའ་ཡས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཉ་སྤྱུ་རྫོང་།

⁴ ཉ་གསེར་མ་འབྲེལ་པའི་སྤྱུ་ཞིག་ལེན།

³ smad mtha' yas rgya mtsho nya sram rdzong

⁴ nya gser ma 'khyil ba'i glu zhig len

³ The endless ocean in a lower place abounds in fish and otters,

⁴ (Let me) sing a song that will gather the golden fish.

⁵ ཡུལ་འདིར་ཚོགས་ཁྲོམ་པ་སྤྱུ་ཡི་རྫོང་།

⁶ ཁ་རྩ་ཆང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྤྱུ་ཞིག་ལེན།

⁵ yul 'dir tshogs khrom pa glu yi rdzong

⁶ kha ja chang 'dzoms pa'i glu zhig len

⁵ The crowd of people here abounds in songs,

⁶ (Let me) sing a song that will make everyone drink plenty of tea and liquor.

¹⁷¹ A sacred Buddhist site in Wutai County, Shanxi Province.

¹⁷² 'Jam pa'i dbyangs, a bodhisattva associated with transcendent wisdom.

CEREMONY PARTICIPANTS AND CONGRATULATORY GIFTS

The songs finish and the wedding continues. The families living near the groom's home and the groom's relatives bring gifts and join the wedding. Locals call these gifts *kha ru*.

As recently as 1992, prior to the wedding day, locals helped the family with the wedding celebrations. Cooked mutton was placed on the table for the *A zhang* and other guests. In about 1998, locals reduced the amount of mutton acceptable as a gift in deference to the belief that it is sinful to excessively slaughter sheep and that it also places a heavy burden on relatives and friends. Subsequently, locals brought beer and candy to the wedding ceremony as gifts. Around 2007, gifts were mostly tea bricks and *gos*.

Some families hang a line in the courtyard on which the gifts of clothes or *gos* are displayed so that guests, and most importantly, the *A zhang*, can easily see what has been offered. This display provides a measure of the *gnyen tshang's* prestige. In 2015, common gifts were clothing, *chang*, and sometimes, tea bricks. Also cash, in amounts of ten to one hundred RMB, was becoming an increasingly popular gift.

A MA SRU SPEECH ABOUT RECEIVING BU RAS

Women from the *gnyen tshang* group demand *bu ras* 'bride clothes' from the *A zhang*. *Bu ras* demonstrates that the bride now belongs to the *gnyen tshang*. *A zhang* reluctantly give the *bu ras*. Before giving it to the *gnyen tsang*, they make taunting, vulgar speeches to the *ma sru*. They say, for instance, that they meant to bring *bu ras* but forgot it. These are key speeches in a wedding ceremony and still feature in most weddings unless a special circumstance has occurred, such as the death of a relative of the bride or groom in the same year. This speech is also not given when a wedding is deliberately small with relatively few in attendance. Khe bhe provided the following speech in 2008.

¹གཉེན་ཚང་། ²ཡ། ³ངས་གྲལ་འགོ་སྐོར་ནས་ཚུ་ཞིག་མཆོད། ⁴མེད་གེད་ཀྱང་མོའི་འོ་མ་ཡིན། ⁵གྲལ་སྐོར་སྐོར་
ནས་ཚུ་ཞིག་མཆོད། ⁶གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྤོན་མོའི་ཁ་ཚུ་ཡིན། ⁷གྲལ་རྒྱ་སྐོར་ནས་ཚུ་ཞིག་མཆོད། ⁸འཇིག་རྟེན་མགོན་
པོའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན། ⁹ཡ། ¹⁰ཁ་ཞང་ཚང་། ¹¹མ་སྤུ་ཚང་མས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ¹²སྤོང་པའི་ཁ་མིག་ཟེར་བ་དེ་བོད་
ཁ་བ་ཅན་ལ་དཔེ་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་ ¹³ས་ནག་ཐང་ན་ལམ་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་རེད། ¹⁴དེད་ཚང་ལ་མཆོད་ན། ¹⁵ཁ་ཆེན་ལ་ཟ་
འོ་བས་དང་ལག་རྒྱན་ལ་ལེན་འོ་བས་ཡོད་ནི་རེད། ¹⁶མ་སྤུ་མ་ཚང་མས་དེ་རིང་སྤོང་དབྲུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཕུག་ཅིག་
དགོས། ¹⁷ཕུག་གཅིག་རུང་ཐིག་ལེ་མི་གཅིག་ནི་ཞིག་ ¹⁸སྤྲད་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་གྱི་གོས་ཤིག་དགོས། ¹⁹གོས་གཅིག་རུང་

རི་མོ་མི་འདྲ་ནི་ཞིག་²⁰ བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་དར་ཞིག་དགོས།²¹ དར་གཅིག་རུང་ཁ་མཚན་མི་འདྲ་ནི་ཞིག་²² རས་
ཁ་དར་ཁ་དང་ཁ་བཏགས་ཟད་པོ་སྐྱེས་མི་ལེན་ཟེར་གི

¹ gnyen tshang ² ya ³ ngas gral 'go skor nas chu zhig mchod ⁴ seng ge
dkar mo'i 'o ma yin ⁵ gral sked skor nas chu zhig mchod ⁶ g.yu 'brug
sngon mo'i kha chu yin ⁷ gral rnga skor nas chu zhig mchod ⁸ 'jig rten
mgon po'i rten 'brel yin ⁹ ya ¹⁰ a zhang tshang ¹¹ ma sru tshang mas
bshad rgyur ¹² srid pa'i kha mig zer ba de bod kha ba can la dpe yod pa
zhig ¹³ sa nag thang na lam yod pa zhig red ¹⁴ nged tshang la mtshon
na ¹⁵ kha chen la za lobs dang lag rgan la len lobs yod ni red ¹⁶ ma sru
ma tshang mas de ring stod dbus gtsang yul gyi phrug cig dgos
¹⁷ phrug gcig rung thig le mi gcig ni zhig ¹⁸ smad rgya nag yul gyi gos
shig dgos ¹⁹ gos gcig rung ri mo mi 'dra ni zhig ²⁰ bod kha ba can gyi
dar zhig dgos ²¹ dar gcig rung kha mtshon mi 'dra ni zhig ²² ras kha
dar kha dang kha btags zad po sogs mi len zer gi

¹ ཨ་ཁང་ཅང་། ² ཡ། ³ མ་སྤ་ཚད་གཤམ་གང་བོར་ཤོད་དང་། ⁴ སྤུ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་བྱ་རས་ཟེར་པ་དེ་སྤྱིར་དེ་རིང་བྱེད་
ཚད་ལ་ཤུག་ཐིག་ལེ་མ་ཞིག་ཏྟོན་རྒྱ་དགོས་ནི་རེད། ⁵ གོས་ཕྱི་ནང་ཅན་ཞིག་གཤམ་རྒྱ་དགོས་ནི་རེད། ⁶ འདི་རི་ཆེན་
ཞིག་གི་འགོ་ནས་འཕྲངས་ན་དགོས་རྒྱུ་ནི་དང་། ⁷ རྒྱ་ཆེན་ཞིག་གི་འགམ་ནས་བཤིག་ན་ཟམ་པ་ཉན་ནི་ཞིག་
དགོས་ནི་རེད་མོད། ⁸ བྱེད་ཚད་ལ་ཁ་གང་གིས་ཆོག་ནི་མ་རེད། ⁹ ཁ་རྩན་ལ་ཟ་ལོ་བས་ཡོད་ནི་རེད། ¹⁰ སྤར་གང་
གིས་ཆོག་ནི་མ་རེད། ¹¹ ལག་རྩན་ལ་ལེན་ལོ་བས་ཡོད་ནི་རེད། ¹² ད་ནངས་ཞི་ལུ་ཚོར། ¹³ བྱེད་ཚུས་ཐིག་ཚད་ཅིག་
བཏགས་ཏེ། ¹⁴ ལོང་ཆོད་ཅིག་བཀལ་ནས་ཐོག་ལ་ཁ་བཏགས་ལྟ་དགུ་མ་ཞིག་འཕྲངས་ཞེས་བཤད་མོད། ¹⁵ ང་
སྤངས་མ་སྤངས་ཀྱིས་ལམ་ལ་བུད་ས་ནས། ¹⁶ བྲེལ་མ་བྲེལ་གྱིས་རྟེན་ཞོན་ས་ནས་བརྗོད་སོང་ཐིག། ¹⁷ ཡ། ¹⁸ ད་ཁ་
བཏགས་འདི་གུམ་ཀུམ་རུང་རུང་སྤྲ་རྩས་ཡིན། ²⁰ མེ་ཏོག་རུང་རུང་སྤྲ་རྩས་ཀྱི་ཆབ་བྱ། ¹⁹ མ་སྤ་ཚད་འཁང་མི་
ཉན་པར་བྲུང་ན་ཨོ་ཆོག

¹ a zhang tshang ² ya ³ ma sru tshang gral gang bor shod dang ⁴ sku
rgyal bod kyi bu ras zer pa de spyir de ring khyed tshang la phrug thig
le ma zhig ston rgyu dgos ni red ⁵ gos phyi nang can zhig gshom rgyu
dgos ni red ⁶ 'di ri chen zhig gi 'go nas 'phyangs na dkris rgyag ni dang
⁷ chu chen zhig gi 'gram nas bshig na zam pa nyan ni zhig dgos ni red
mod ⁸ khyed tshang la kha gang gis chog ni ma red ⁹ kha rgan la za
lobs yod ni red ¹⁰ spar gang gis chog ni ma red ¹¹ lag rgan la len lobs
yod ni red ¹² da nangs zhi lu tshor ¹³ khyod tshos theg tshad cig btegs
te ¹⁴ long tshod cig bkal nas thog la kha btags lha dgu ma zhig 'phongs
zhes bshad mod ¹⁵ nga sngangs ma sngangs kyis lam la bud sa nas
¹⁶ brel ma brel gyis rtar zhon sa nas brjed song zig ¹⁷ ya ¹⁸ da kha btags
'di gur kum chung rung lha rdzas yin ¹⁹ me tog chung rung sman rdzas
kyi tshab tu ²⁰ ma sru tshang 'khang mi nyan par blang na e chog

¹གཉེན་ཆང་། ²མི་ཚོག ³ཡ། ⁴བྱེད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཆང་རྟ་མང་རེད། ⁵བྱེད་ཕྱིར་འཁོར་ནས་ལེན་དུ་ཤོང་། ⁶འདི་མི་
 དགོས། ⁷བྱེད་ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་གི་མགོ་ན་མགོ་སྤྲོད་བྱེད་ཀྱང་མེད་གི ⁸ང་གཉེན་ཆང་གི་ཨ་ནི་ཡི་ཕོ་བ་སྤྲོད་བྱེད་ཀྱང་
 མེད་གི ⁹རེད། ¹⁰ཨ་ཞང་ཆོ། ¹¹རེད་ཆང་དགྲུང་ཉི་མའི་ཡར་སྤྲོད་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་བུ་མོར་བུ་རས་ཞེ་ན། ¹²ར་
 མདོག་ཅན་གྱི་ཕྱག་ལྟུངས་ནི་ཡིན། ¹³གནས་མདོག་ཅན་གྱི་གོས་ལྟུངས་ནི་ཡིན། ¹⁴རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཐེར་མ་ལྟུངས་ནི་ཞིག་
 ཡིན། ¹⁵རྒྱ་ནག་གི་དགུ་མ་ལྟུངས་ནི་ཞིག་ཡིན། ¹⁶སྟོང་ནས་ཤུག་ལྟུངས་ས་ཡོད། ¹⁷སྟངས་ནས་ར་སྟག་ལྟུངས་ས་
 ཡོད། ¹⁸བར་ནས་ཕྱིར་སྟག་ལྟུངས་ས་ཡང་ཡོད། ¹⁹བྱེད་ཆང་གི་རྟ་ཆུན་ཞིག་གི་གཡང་ར་ཟད་པོ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཁ་
 བཏགས་འདི་འགོ་བཏུམས་ན་རྩ་མི་འཇུག་གི ²⁰ཐུར་བཅད་ན་ལུག་ནས་རྒྱུང་མི་འགོག་གི ²¹སྟེའ་བཞིག་ན་ལུག་
 རས་ཆུ་མི་ཚོགས་གི ²²རེད་མི་དགོས་ཨ་ཞང་བྱེད་ལ་ཕྱིར་སྤྲད་ནི་ཡིན།

¹gnyen tshang ²mi chog ³ya ⁴khyod sangs rgyas tshang rta mang red
⁵khyod phyir 'khor nas len du song ⁶'di mi dgos ⁷khyed a zhang
 tshang gi mgron mgo sdom byed kyang med gi ⁸nga gnyen tshang gi a
 ne yi pho ba sdom byed kyang med gi ⁹red ¹⁰a zhang tsho ¹¹nged
 tshang dgung nyi ma'i yar sngon nas bzung ste bu mor bu ras zhe na
¹²ja mdog can gyi phrug blangs ni yin ¹³gnam mdog can gyi gos
 blangs ni yin ¹⁴rgya gar gyi ther ma blangs ni zhig yin ¹⁵rgya nag gi
 dgu ma blangs ni zhig yin ¹⁶stod nas sha sag blangs sa yod ¹⁷smad nas
 ra sag blangs sa yod ¹⁸bar nas phying sag blangs sa yang yod ¹⁹khyed
 tshang gi rta rgan zhig gi g.yang ra zad po lta bu'i kha btags 'di 'go
 btums na rna mi 'thum gi ²⁰thur bcad na khug nas rlung mi 'gog gi
²¹lteb bshig na khug nas chu mi tshogs gi ²²nged mi dgos a zhang
 khyed la phyir sprad ni yin

¹ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་། ²ཡ། ³མ་སྤྲུམ་ཆང་ལ་ཤོད་དང་། ⁴ཁ་བཏགས་ལྟ་བུའི་འདི་དཔེ་ཁ་ཕྱི་སྤྲད་བྱས་ན་མདངས་མི་
 འབུད་གི ⁵སྟེ་ཕྱིས་དུས་འོད་མི་འབུད་གི ⁶བྱེད་ཆང་གིས་སྟོང་བར་སྟངས་ནས་ར་སྟག་ཕྱིར་སྟག་སྟོགས་ལྟུངས་བས།
⁷ཁ་ཆེ་ཞིག་གདང་གི་ཡོད་རུད། ⁸ངས་བཟུས་ན་བྱེད་ཆང་ལ་ཁ་གོགས་མེད་གི ⁹བུ་རས་ཆང་བུ་ཁ་བཏགས་
 འདི་མེད་ར་ཆོག་ནི་རེད་འདོད་གི

¹a zhang tshang ²ya ³ma sru ma tshang la shod dang ⁴kha btags lha
 dgu ma 'di nga'i kha phyi spyad byas na mdangs mi 'bud gi ⁵sna physis
 dus 'od mi 'bud gi ⁶khyed tshang gis stod bar smad nas ra sag phying
 sag sogs blangs bas ⁷kha che che zhig gdang gi yod rung ⁸ngas bltas
 na khyed tshang la kha grogs med gi ⁹bu ras tshab tu kha btags 'di
 longs ra chog ni red 'dod gi

¹གཉེན་ཆང་། ²བྱེད་ཁ་བཏགས་དེས་ཁ་ཕྱིས་དང་ཁ་ལས་དགོ ³སྟེ་ཕྱིས་དང་རི་གཞོན་དུ་འགྲོ ⁴ད་ཐེངས་རེད་
 ཆང་གི་བུ་མོའི་བུ་རས་ཞེ་ན། ⁵བཞིག་ན་རྟ་རིན་ཅན་ཞིག་དང་། ⁶གཤམ་ན་སྟོན་རིན་ཅན་ཞིག་མེད་ན། ⁷ཁ་

བཏགས་ཟད་པོ་འདི་འདྲ་རེད་ཆང་ལ་འང་མི་དགོས། ⁸ དེ་རིང་བྱེད་ཚོས་ཁ་བཤད་པ་བྱས་ཏེ་སྟེར་རྒྱ་མིན་ན། ⁹ ང་
 ཚོས་ལག་འབད་པ་བྱས་ཏེ་འདྲུང་ན་ཐང་།

¹ gnyen tshang ² khyos kha btags des kha phyis dang kha las dge ³ sna
 phyis dang je gzhon du 'gro ⁴ da thengs nged tshang gi bu mo'i bu ras
 zhe na ⁵ bshig na lta rin can zhig dang ⁶ gsham na ston rin can zhig
 med na ⁷ kha btags zad po 'di 'dra nged tshang la'ang mi dgos ⁸ de ring
 khyed tshos kha bshad pa byas te ster rgyu min na ⁹ nga tshos lag 'bad
 pa byas te 'drud na thang

¹ ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་། ² དུ། ³ མ་སྤྱ་ཆང་། ⁴ ཁ་བཤད་པ་དང་། ⁵ ལག་འབད་པ་བྱེར་ན་ངས་མི་ཤེས། ⁶ ང་དང་མ་ཁ་མ་
 དགེ་ཨ་མོང་བཅན་ན་ཡོད་དུས། ⁷ མིང་མ་དགེ་ལྷ་བྱས་ནགས་ན་ཡོད་དུས། ⁸ ང་སྟེང་འགོ་ན་འཁོར་ནས་འགོ་
 བོན་ཡོད། ⁹ ཐང་རྒྱུང་ནང་ན་རྩལ་ནས་འགོ་དུས་ཤིག་ཡིན་ན། ¹⁰ བྱེད་ཚོས་ང་ཁ་བཤད་པས་མི་ཆང་ལག་འབད་པ་
 བྱས་ན་འང་མོན་ནི་མི་རེད། ¹¹ དེ་རིང་ནངས་ཀ་ང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་བཅུས་མགོ་ལག་བཀྲལ་དང་ཟེག ¹² འགོ་འདོད་ཀྱང་
 སྟོག་ལ་བརྒྱུད་དང་ཟེག ¹³ ཁ་བཤད་པ་མ་བྱས་ན་ལག་འབད་པ་ཅན་པོ་ཡིན་ནི་མི་རེད།

¹ a zhang tshang ² ya ³ ma sru tshang ⁴ kha bshad pa dang ⁵ lag 'bad pa
 zhes na ngas mi shes ⁶ nga deng ma kha ma dge a long btsan na yod
 dus ⁷ ming ma dge khu byug nags na yod dus ⁸ phyi rting 'go na 'khor
 nas 'gro gin yod ⁹ nga tha rkyang nang na rngul nas 'gro dus shig yin
 na ¹⁰ khyed tshos nga kha bshad pas mi tshad lag 'bad pa byas na'ang
 lon ni ma red ¹¹ de ring nangs ka nga lo rgan drug bcus mgo lag bkug
 dang zig ¹² 'gro 'dod kyang sgrog la brgyab dang zig ¹³ kha bshad pa ma
 byas na lag 'bad pa can po yin ni ma red

¹ གཉེན་ཆང་། ² དེ་རིང་རེད་ཆང་གི་བྱ་མོའི་བྱ་རས་ཞེ་ན། ³ དྲུང་གོར་མོ་ཅན་ལ་བགོ་རིན་ཡོད་ནི་ཞིག ⁴ མཚན་ཁ་
 གཡུ་ཡི་ཡག་ཡིན་དགོས་ནི་ཞིག ⁵ མཚན་མདངས་སྤྱ་བརྒྱ་འཛོམས་ཡོད་ནི་ཞིག ⁶ རིན་ཐང་གསེར་གྱི་སྤྲལ་ཡིན་ནི་
 ཞིག་དགོས་ནི་རེད། ⁷ དེ་མིན་ན། ⁸ རེད་ཆང་གིས་གལ་མགོ་ནས་འདྲུང་རྒྱ་ཡིན། ⁹ གལ་སྟེང་ནས་ལེན་རྒྱ་ཡིན།
¹⁰ གལ་ཇ་ནས་འཛོག་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

¹ gnyen tshang ² de ring nged tshang gi bu mo'i bu ras zhe na ³ dung
 gor mo can la bgo rin yod ni zhig ⁴ mtshon kha g.yu yi yag yin dgos ni
 zhig ⁵ mtshon mdangs sna brgya 'dzoms yod ni zhig ⁶ rin thang gser
 gyi lhag yin ni zhig dgos ni red ⁷ de min na ⁸ nged tshang gis gral mgo
 nas 'drud rgyu yin ⁹ gral sked nas len rgyu yin ¹⁰ gral rnga nas 'thog
 rgyu yin

¹ ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་། ² མ་སྤྱ་གནས་གྱིས་བསྐྱུང་རྒྱ་མ་ཚོ། ³ ངའི་ལག་གི་ཁ་བཏགས་འདི་སྟོད་དུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་གྱི་སྤྱ་

¹ gnyen mi bar ba ² a zhang tsho dang ma sru tshos kha bshad pa
 mtshams bzahag ste lag 'bad pa byed par ma rtsoms ³ phan tshun gyis
 tshig mtshams shig bzahag nas nga bar ba zhi lu'i kha cig nyon dang
⁴ ngas bar 'di nas khyod tshor tshig gsum gyis kha brda zhig byed ⁵ a
 zhang tshor mtshon na ⁶ de ring lam thag ring bo brgyud de rta tshogs
 pa ⁷ rta 'do ba'i gong nas mi tshegs pa bcas ⁸ dka' tshegs sku las gang
 mang myangs nas bu mo bskyal nas thon na ⁹ a zhang khyed tshang
 gis de ring ci gsungs bka' yin ¹⁰ bka' lag len byed ¹¹ gsungs dang len
 byed ¹² bod kyi bu mo'i bu ras zhe na ¹³ bskal ba sar chags nas ba so
 khar skyes te bod la gnyen dar dus nas bzung 'di med pa zhig ma red
¹⁴ khyer yong ni zhig red rtsod ni zhig kyang red ¹⁵ rtsad na'ang khyod
 tshor bgos te yul la khyer rgyu zhig yod ni ma red ¹⁶ rgyab la gon 'jog
 rgyu zhig kyang yod ni ma red ¹⁷ de ma sru tshos kyang shes ni red ¹⁸ a
 zhang tshang gis kyang bod kyi bu mo'i bu ras zer ba de kha btags
 shig las mi tshad pa shes ni red ¹⁹ de yin na ²⁰ a zhang tshos kyang mi
 ster ma zer ²¹ ma sru tshos kyang mi len ma zer ²² blangs btang na
 yang phan tshun gyis glu dbyangs rtsed mo re byos

SUMMARY

The *bu ras* begins with the entreaty: "Offer water to the top row of the *A zhang*; it is the milk of a white snow lion. Offer water to the middle of the row; it is dragon's saliva. Offer water to the end of the row; it is the sign of Buddha".

Afterwards, an articulate woman from the *gnyen tshang* requests *bu ras* on behalf of the *gnyen tshang*. She states that it is a Tibetan custom to request a set of *phrug* from Dbus gtsang made from special fabric, a set of *gos* with special patterns from China, and a *dar* with special colors from Tibet. She says that old or used fabric is unacceptable.

A man from the *A zhang* group replies with humor and sarcasm that the Tibetan *bu ras* should be like a set of specially marked *phrug* to wear; a *gos* with outer layer and inner layer for the *gnyen tshang*. "It should be enough to wrap around a massive mountain three times or to make a bridge over a big river. It is unacceptable if it is only the length of an arm. Though an adequate amount of *bu ras* was prepared, we *A zhang* neglected to bring it when we left home. Thus, we hope the *gnyen tshang* will accept a *kha btags* instead."

The *gnyen tshang* women giggle and refuse in unison. A woman encourages the *A zhang* to return and fetch the *bu ras*. She says that the *kha btags* is not even long enough to tie around one of the *A zhang*'s heads or to tie around the waist of a woman from the *gnyen tshang* (the speaker might be quite plump). She continues, "*Bu ras* should include *phrug* that is the color of brick tea, *gos* that is the color of the sky, woolen cloth from India, and silk cloth from China."

The woman states that they are accustomed to receiving the best materials as the *bu ras*, while the worn-out *kha btags* (even though it is actually a new one) is inadequate to cover even a face, is so flimsy it could not resist the wind, and is not even waterproof. Finally, the women throw the *kha btags* back to the *A zhang* amid peals of laughter from the audience.

The *A zhang* representative replies, "This *kha btags* does not show beauty because it looks like someone wiped their mouth on it and does not show brightness because it looks like someone wiped their nose on it. The *gnyen tshang* group is accustomed to receiving luxurious *bu ras* and is, therefore, expecting another perfect *bu ras* this time." He claims that unfortunately, the women do not deserve it, thus this *kha btags* is the only choice for the *bu ras*, at which point everyone bursts into laughter.

A woman from the *gnyen tshang* states that if the *A zhang* clean their mouth with the *kha btags*, they will become more articulate, and if they clean their nose with it, they will appear younger. She emphasizes that the *bu ras* they requested should be something worth looking at as it is unfolded, and something worth showing as it is exhibited. She continuously refuses the *kha btags*. Finally, she warns that if the *A zhang* cannot be persuaded through discussion to give the *bu ras*, then the *gnyen tshang* will come pull them out of their seats.

An *A zhang* replies that when he was young, he was active, and it was a big challenge for others to take the *bu ras* from him, regardless of what they said or did. However, he admits that now, in his sixties, his body is less active, less responsive even when he wants to move, so he chooses a speaking contest instead.

In reply, the woman argues that the *bu ras* should be silver bowls, sufficient in number to divide among the *gnyen tshang*. She describes the bowls, "They should be ornamented with turquoise on top. Their value should be greater than gold." She then concludes with the threat, "If these requirements are not met, you will be pulled out of your seats."

An *A zhang* says that his *kha btags* can be the *lha dar* 'deity flag' in Dbus gtsang, the *khrims dar* in China, and the *gnyen dar* 'wedding sash' in Tibet. It features the Eight Auspicious Symbols, the sign of the Seven Royal Possessions,¹⁷³ and praises tigers, lions, garudas, and dragons. It can be used in religion, welcoming weddings, communicating with leaders, sending off brides, and can be used to sing songs today. He finally says that *A zhang* have nothing else – only this.

¹⁷³ *Rgyal srid sna bdun* refers to the seven attributes of kingship: the precious wheel of the Dharma, jewels, a queen, an elephant, a minister, a horse, and a general.

At this point, the *gnyen tshang* women approach the *A zhang* to drag them from their seats. A male from the *gnyen tshang* or a matchmaker stops them and speaks for both sides, advising the *gnyen tshang* and *A zhang* to avoid conflict. He appeals to everyone to listen to him for a moment (the women are still talking loudly), and says that the *A zhang* came early in the morning from far away and must be tired. "You *gnyen tshang* are supposed to listen to whatever the *A zhang's* command on this day. *Bu ras* originated when Tibetan marriage customs began. Although it is something to argue, joke, and speak about, it is not worth dividing everyone." He adds that the *gnyen tshang* must already know this. He also says that the *A zhang* must also know that *bu ras* is more than a *kha btags* and they should no longer hide it. Finally, he encourages the *gnyen tshang* to accept the *bu ras* and then suggests that they sing.

A SASH-TYING SPEECH

A man from the *A zhang* stands up with a bowl of *chang* and a white *kha btags* draped across his arms and recites a sash-tying speech, wishing good luck to the new couple. The main content of the speech is similar to the sash-tying speech from Skya rgya Village, Gcan tsha County provided by Blo rtan rdo rje and Stuart (2007:214). During the speech, the groom stands facing the center of the house with his head bowed in front of the *A zhang* and others. During the speech, different colors of sashes are given to the groom by the *gnyen tshang*.

In 2016, many weddings lacked a sash-tying speech and many *gnyen tshang* and *A zhang* did not bring sashes. Instead, the bride's relatives each brought ten to fifty RMB. 'Brug thar rgyal provided the following speech:¹⁷⁴

¹མཚོད་ཨོ་ཨུ་རྒྱུ། ²མཚོད་ཨོ་ཨུ་རྒྱུ། ³མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་དགུང་ཕྱིན་མཚོད། ⁴དགུང་ཕྱིན་པོ་འདི་མ་
མཚོད་མ་བཀྲར་ན། ⁵མགོ་གྲུང་རིས་ཅན་གྱི་བསྟོད་ཁྲི་བཙེལ་ས་ཡིན། ⁶མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་བར་སྒྲུང་མཚོད།
⁷བར་སྒྲུང་ཡངས་པ་འདི་མ་མཚོད་མ་བཀྲར་ན། ⁸སྟེང་ལའོར་གསུམ་གྱི་བསྟོད་ཁྲི་བཙེལ་ས་ཡིན། ⁹མཚོད་མཚོད་
མཚོད་ལ་དོག་མོ་ས་མཚོད། ¹⁰ས་དོག་མོ་འདི་མ་མཚོད་མ་བཀྲར་ན། ¹¹རྒྱ་སྒྲུབ་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་བསྟོད་ཁྲི་བཙེལ་ས་ཡིན།
¹²མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་པ་ལྟ་མཚོད། ¹³པ་ལྟ་ཕྲག་པའི་གཡས་ནས་མཚོད། ¹⁴མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་མ་ལྟ་
མཚོད། ¹⁵མ་ལྟ་ཕྲག་པའི་གཡོན་ནས་མཚོད། ¹⁶མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་ཞང་ལྟ་མཚོད། ¹⁷ཞང་ལྟ་ལྷན་པའི་
གཙུག་ནས་མཚོད། ¹⁸མཚོད་མཚོད་མཚོད་ལ་རང་ལྟ་མཚོད་རང་ལྟ་རྟོག་རྒྱུ་ནས་མཚོད། ¹⁹མཚོད་མཚོད་

¹⁷⁴ An audio record of a sash-tying speech from 'Brug thar rgyal is available at <https://archive.org/details/SongsChantsSpeeches>, accessed 21 February 2015.

མཚོད་ལ་མག་པ་མཚོད། ²⁰ མག་པའི་ཕོ་ལྷ་དག་ལྷ་མཚོད། ²¹ ལྷོད་ལྷོད་ལ་མཚོད་ཅིག་འཕངས་ན། ²² ལྷོད་ཀྱི་
 མངའ་རིས་སྒྲོར་གསུམ་མཚོད། ²³ བར་བར་ལ་མཚོད་ཅིག་འཕངས་ན། ²⁴ བར་གྱི་དབུས་གཙང་དུ་བཞི་མཚོད།
²⁵ སྒྲོད་སྒྲོད་ལ་མཚོད་ཅིག་འཕངས་ན། ²⁶ སྒྲོད་ཀྱི་མདོ་ཁམས་སྒྲོད་དུག་མཚོད། ²⁷ མཚོད་ཨོ་ཨུ་ཏྱི།

¹ mchod oM AH hU~M ² mchod oM AH hU~M ³ mchod ³ mchod
 mchod la dgung sngon mchod ⁴ dgung sngon po 'di ma mchod ma
 bkur na ⁵ mgo klad ris can gyi bstod khri bcol sa yin ⁶ mchod mchod
 mchod la bar snang mchod ⁷ bar snang yangs pa 'di ma mchod ma
 bkur na ⁸ sked 'khor gsum gyi bstod khri bcol sa yin ⁹ mchod mchod
 mchod la dog mo sa mchod ¹⁰ sa dog mo 'di ma mchod ma bkur na
¹¹ rkang srag lham gyi bstad ri bcol sa yin ¹² mchod mchod mchod la
 pha lha mchod ¹³ pha lha phrag pa'i g.yas nas mchod ¹⁴ mchod mchod
 mchod la ma lha mchod ¹⁵ ma lha phrag pa'i g.yon nas mchod
¹⁶ mchod mchod mchod la zhang lha mchod ¹⁷ zhang lha klad pa'i
 gtsug nas mchod ¹⁸ mchod mchod mchod la rang lha mchod rang lha
 ro stod rgyab nas mchod ¹⁹ mchod mchod mchod la mag pa mchod
²⁰ mag pa'i pho lha dgra lha mchod ²¹ stod stod la mchod cig 'phang na
²² stod kyi mnga' ris skor gsum mchod ²³ bar bar la mchod cig 'phangs
 na ²⁴ bar kyi dbus gtsang ru bzhi mchod ²⁵ smad smad la mchod cig
 'phangs na ²⁶ smad kyi mdo khams sgang drug mchod ²⁷ mchod oM
 AH hU~M

¹ དའི་ལག་གི་དཀར་ཡོལ་འབྲུག་མ་འདིར་བསྟོད་པ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཞིག་བྱས་ན། ² ཞབས་ནས་བུད་དེ་ཡར་ལ་བསྟོད་
 དགོས་ཟེར་གི། ³ ས་དོག་མོ་བད་མ་འདབ་བརྒྱད་ལ་ཆ་བཞག་ནས། ⁴ རོག་ན་བད་མ་འདབ་བརྒྱད་ཡོད། ⁵ བད་མ་
 འདབ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་འདབ་ཡག་གི། ⁶ བར་སྒྲོད་ཡངས་བ་དཀར་པོར་ཆ་བཞག་ནས། ⁷ བར་ན་བག་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་
 ཡོད། ⁸ བག་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་རྟགས་ཡག་གི། ⁹ དགྲུང་སྟོན་པོ་འཁོར་ལོ་ཕྱིབས་བརྒྱད་ལ་ཆ་བཞག་ནས། ¹⁰ ལ་
 ན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཕྱིབས་བརྒྱད་ཡོད། ¹¹ འཁོར་ལོ་ཕྱིབས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིབས་ཡག་གི། ¹² འདི་འབྲུང་ས་དབུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་
 རས་བུད། ¹³ ལུབ་ས་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་ནས་འབྲུག། ¹⁴ བཙོང་ས་སྐྱ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ལ་བཙོངས། ¹⁵ རྟེན་མིག་རྒྱུད་ཞིག་ལ་
 བཀའ་ནས་ཡོང། ¹⁶ ལིང་དར་མཚོན་སྒྲ་ལུས་བཏུམས་ནས་ཡོང། ¹⁷ མ་ཨ་ཁུ་ཚོགས་ནས་ཆེ་ཚུལ་བཤད། ¹⁸ ནང་
 མ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ནས་རྒྱུད་ཆུལ་བཤད། ¹⁹ ལུ་ཚ་བོ་ཚོགས་ནས་ཆད་རེད་ཅེས་སྐྱ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཡོལ་བུད་ནས་
 ཟེར་གི། ²⁰ མཚོད་ཨོ་ཨུ་ཏྱི།

¹ nga'i lag gi dkar yol 'brug ma 'dir bstod pa rnam gsum zhig byas na
² zhabs nas bud de yar la bstod dgos zer gi ³ sa dog mo pad ma 'dab
 brgyad la cha bzahag nas ⁴ thog na pad ma 'dab brgyad yod ⁵ pad ma
 'dab brgyad kyi 'dab yag gi ⁶ bar snang yangs ba dkar por cha bzahag
 nas ⁷ bar na bkra shis rtags brgyad yod ⁸ bkra shis rtags brgyad kyi
 rtags yag gi ⁹ dgung sngon po 'khor lo rtsibs brgyad la cha bzahag nas

10 kha na 'khor lo rtsibs brgyad yod 11 'khor lo rtsibs brgyad kyi rtsibs
yag gi 12 'di 'bud sa dbus gtsang yul nas bud 13 grub sa rgya nag yul nas
'grub 14 btsong sa sku rgyal bod la btsongs 15 drel rmig chung zhig la
bkal nas yong 16 ling dar mtshon sna lngas btums nas yong 17 pha a
khu tshogs nas che tshul bshad 18 nang ma sru tshogs nas chung tshul
bshad 19 bu tsha bo tshogs nas tshad red ces sku rgyal bod kyi dkar yol
byung nas zer gi 20 mchod oM AH hU~M

1 ཡ། 2 འདིའི་ནང་གི་བདུད་རྩི་བསིལ་མ་འདིར་བསྟོད་པ་རྩམ་གསུམ་ཞིག་བྱས་ན། 3 ས་དྲོག་མོ་གསེར་གཞོང་ལ།
4 ཉན་དཀར་དྲུག་མོ་ཞིང་ལ་བཏབ་ཉན་ཟེར་གི 5 ཞིང་ལ་བཏབ་ཉན་ཆང་ལ་བསྟལ་ཉན་ཟེར་གི 6 ཞིང་རིམ་
གསུམ་གྱི་རི་ཡུད་ཡིན། 7 རྩུ་མ་གསུམ་གྱི་རྩུ་ཡུད་ཡིན། 8 གཡུལ་ཁ་གསུམ་གྱི་གཡུལ་ཡུད་ཡིན། 9 རྩོན་མོ་ཉན་གྱི་
བདུད་རྩི་ཡིན། 10 ཁ་ཉན་བསྟལ་ན་དཀར་དཀར་པོ། 11 སེང་གོ་དཀར་མོའི་འོ་མ་ཡིན། 12 བར་ཉན་བསྟལ་ན་ལྗང་
ནག་པོ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་རྩོན་མོའི་ཁ་རྩུ་ཡིན། 13 ཞབས་ཉན་བསྟལ་ན་དམར་པོ་པོ། 14 རྒྱ་བྲིམ་དམར་པོའི་ཤ་བྲག་
འདྲེས་ནི་ཡིན། 15 པ་ཨ་ཁུས་འཐུང་ན་དབུ་འཕངས་བསྟོད་ལ། 16 རྟག་ཤར་ས་འཐུང་ན་དཔའ་ཅུལ་རྩས།
17 སྤྲུལ་བྱ་མོས་འཐུང་ན་ཤ་མདངས་དཀར། 18 ཁར་བྲེར་ན་ཁ་ལས་དགེ 19 མག་པ་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཨ་ཁུང་གིས་
ཆང་རེས་འཛོག 20 ཁྱོས་ཡ་ཁ་གསེར་ལོ་ཡིན་པས་བཤད་ཤེས་བྱོས། 21 མ་ཁ་དབུ་ལོ་ཡིན་པས་སྟུར་ཤེས་བྱོས།
22 མིད་ཐག་རིལ་བྱ་ཡིན་པས་འདྲེན་ཤེས་བྱོས། 23 ཅུ་ལམ་རིན་ཆེན་ཡིན་པས་འབྲེམ་ཤེས་བྱོས། 24 ཨོ་དགོས།

1 ya 2 'di'i nang gi bdud rtsi bsil ma 'dir bstod pa rnam gsum zhig byas
na 3 sa dog mo gser gzhang la 4 nas dkar drug mo zhing la btab nas zer
gi 5 zhing la btab nas chang la bsnyal nas zer gi 6 zhing ri ma gsum gyi
ri phud yin 7 chu ma gsum gyi chu phud yin 8 g.yul kha gsum gyi g.yul
phud yin 9 sngon mo nas kyi bdud rtsi yin 10 kha nas bltas na dkar
dkar po 11 seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma yin 12 bar nas bltas na ljang nag po
g.yu 'brug sngon mo'i kha chu yin 13 zhabs nas bltas na dmar po bo
14 rgya khrim dmar po'i sha khrag 'dres ni yin 15 pha a khus 'thung na
dbu 'phangs bstod la 16 stag sha ras 'thung na dpa' rtsal rgyas 17 sman
bu mos 'thung na sha mdangs dkar 18 khar khyer na kha las dge 19 mag
pa tshe ring lo brgya a zhang gis chang res 'jog 20 khyos ya kha gser lo
yin pas bshad shes byos 21 ma kha dngul lo yin pas skyor shig byos
21 mid thag ril bu yin pas 'dren shes byos 22 rtsa lam rin chen yin pas
'gram shes byos 23 e dgos

1 ཡ། 2 མག་པ་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་བརྒྱ། 3 སྟུང་གི་རྩུ་བྲིམ་གྱི་བཞིའི་ནང་ཉན། 4 ཁྱོས་སྟུལ་གྱི་འོ་ཡིན་པས་སྟུར་ཤེས་བྱོས།
5 ཤེས་པ་འཕྲུག་ཉན་ཐག་པ་ལོངས་ར། 6 ཨ་ཁུང་གིས་ཆང་རེས་པ་ཤེས་བྱོས།

1 ya 2 mag pa tshe ring lo brgya 3 skyid kyi lha khyim gru bzhi'i nang
nas 4 khyos skyil krung rdo rje mdud pa grol nas 5 shig se bshig nas
thag se longs ra 6 a zhang gis ska rags bcings ya

¹ལིང་དར་ཚོན་སྒྲ་ལྷ་འདིར་བསྟོད་པ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཞིག་བྱས་ན། ²སྟོད་རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཡུག་ཅིག་ཡིན། ³ཡུག་ཐིག་ལེ་ལོ་སྟོད་ན་རྒྱ་གསུམ་ཞིག་ཡོད། ⁴ས་སྒྲུའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་གསུམ་དམར་པོ་ཡིན། ⁵ཁྱེད་མག་པའི་ས་སྒྲ་དེ་ནས་དར། ⁶ཨེ་དགོས།

¹ling dar tshon sna lnga 'dir bstod pa rnam gsum cig byas na ²stod rgya gar yul gyi phrug zhig yin ³phrug thig le'i steng na rtags shig yod ⁴sa lha'i rgya rtags dmar po yin ⁵khyod mag pa'i sa lha de nas dar ⁶e dgos

¹འདི་སྟོད་རྒྱ་གསུམ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཐིག་ལེ་ཡིན། ²ཐིག་ལེ་ལོ་སྟོད་ན་འབྲུག་ཅིག་ཡོད། ³ཐིག་ལེ་ལོ་སྟོད་ན་འབྲུག་ཐིག་ལེ་ཡིན། ⁴ཁྱེད་ཁ་ལས་གསུམ་འབྲུག་གསུམ་གསུམ་བྱེད། ⁵ཨེ་དགོས། ⁶སྒྲ་རྒྱ་ལོ་དེ་གྱི་རས་ཞིག་ཡིན། ⁷རས་ཁ་ཐེལ་སྟོད་ན་རྒྱ་ཞིག་ཡོད། ⁸སྒྲིང་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་མཐིན་དམར་པོ་ཡིན། ⁹ཁྱེད་ཁ་ལས་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་དེ་ནས་དར། ¹⁰ཨེ་དགོས། ¹¹མག་པ་ཚོ་རིང་པོ་བརྒྱ། ¹²དག་པོ་སྟོད་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་ཨ་ཞང་གིས། ¹³འབྲུག་པོ་ཁྱེད་འདྲ་བའི་མག་པ་བཅའ་ནས། ¹⁴སྒྲིང་དག་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་སྐ་རགས་བཅིངས་ན། ¹⁵ཆར་བསེལ་མ་འདྲ་བའི་བསོད་ནམས་དར། ¹⁶རྒྱ་ལྷ་ཡག་འདྲ་བའི་ཨ་ཞང་གིས། ¹⁷འབྲོང་བྲེ་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་མག་པ་བཅའ་ནས། ¹⁸རྒྱ་རས་དག་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་སྐ་རགས་བཅིངས་ན། ¹⁹ན་མེ་རྒྱ་ལྷ་ཡག་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་བསོད་ནམས་དར། ²⁰ནམས་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་འདྲ་བའི་ཨ་ཞང་གིས། ²¹སྒྲིང་དར་མ་འདྲ་བའི་མག་པ་བཅའ་ནས། ²²སྒྲིང་ཐིག་ལེ་འདྲ་བའི་སྐ་རགས་བཅིངས་ན། ²³སྒྲིང་འཕྲུལ་དུག་འདྲ་བའི་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱས། ²⁴ཨེ་དགོས། ²⁵རྒྱ་མེ་འདྲ་བའི་ཨ་ཞང་གི་ ²⁶ཉ་གསེར་མ་འདྲ་བའི་མག་པ་བཅའ་ནས། ²⁷དར་དག་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་སྐ་རགས་བཅིངས་ན། ²⁸གསེར་མེར་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་བསོད་ནམས་དར། ²⁹ཨེ་དགོས།

¹'di smad rgya nag yul gyi gos shig yin ²gos ri mo'i steng na 'brug cig yod ³grag na g.yu 'brug sngon mo yin ⁴khyod kha las g.yu 'brug grag grag byed ⁵e dgos ⁶sku rgyal bod kyi ras shig yin ⁷ras kha thel steng na rta zhig yod ⁸gling rta rta mgrin dmar po yin ⁹khyod kha las rlung rta de nas dar ¹⁰e dgos ¹¹mag pa tshe ring lo brgya ¹²dgung sngon po 'dra ba'i a zhang gis ¹³'brug pho khyung 'dra ba'i mag pa btsal nas ¹⁴sprin dkar po 'dra ba'i ska rags bcings na ¹⁵char bsil ma 'dra ba'i bsod nams dar ¹⁶rdza khra yag 'dra ba'i a zhang gi ¹⁷'brong bre lo 'dra ba'i mag pa btsal nas ¹⁸rtswa ram dkar 'dra ba'i ska rags bcings na ¹⁹na me tog 'dra ba'i bsod nams dar ²⁰nags rgya rdzong 'dra ba'i a zhang gis ²¹stag dar ma 'dra ba'i mag pa btsal nas ²²stag thig le 'dra ba'i ska rags bcings na ²³stag 'dzum drug 'dra ba'i bsod nams rgyas ²⁴e dgos ²⁵nga chu rma chu 'dra ba'i a zhang gi ²⁶nya gser ma 'dra ba'i mag pa btsal nas ²⁷dar dkar po 'dra ba'i ska rags bcings na ²⁸gser ser po 'dra ba'i bsod nams dar ²⁹e dgos

¹ འཕྲིན་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་འདི་སྟོང་རི་ཆེན་ཞིག་གི་སྤང་ནས་ཕོལ་ན། ² རི་ཆུང་ཞིག་ལ་དཀྱིས་གསུམ་རྒྱུ། ³ ཆུ་ཆེན་ཞིག་གི་
 ཁ་ནས་ཕོལ་ན། ⁴ ཆུ་ཆུང་ཞིག་ལ་ཟམ་པ་ཉན་ན། ⁵ དེ་རིང་ཁྲོམ་པ་ལི་གལ་ནས་ཕོལ་ན། ⁶ མག་པ་ཞི་ལུར་དཀྱིས་
 གསུམ་རྒྱུ་བ། ⁷ ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་གིས་བཤད་ན། ⁸ ཁ་ལས་སྤུང་རྟ་དར། ⁹ བསོད་ནམས་དབང་ཐང་དར། ¹⁰ སྐ་
 རྒྱུ་ལ་འདི་ལི་ལུག་ལོ་དགུང་སྟོན་གནམ་ལ་ཅིག་ཁྲུང་ཟེར་གི། ¹¹ ལུག་ལོ་དགུང་སྟོན་གནམ་ལ་ཁྲུང་ན། ¹² དགུང་
 སྟོན་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་མདོག་ཅིག་འབྲུང་ལ། ¹³ འབྲུག་པོ་ཁྲུང་ནག་རིལ་ལ་ཆ་བཞག་ན། ¹⁴ ནག་ཁ་རིང་འདྲ་བའི་སྐ་
 རྒྱུ་ལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་གི། ¹⁵ ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་གིས་བཤད་གི་ར། ¹⁶ འདི་ལི་སྟོང་པ་བར་སྤང་ཁམས་ལ་ཅིག་ཁྲུང་ཟེར་གི།
¹⁷ སྟོང་པ་བར་སྤང་ཁམས་ལ་ཅིག་ཁྲུང་ན་འོད་མེར་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་མདོག་ཅིག་འབྲུང་ལ་ཟེར་གི། ¹⁸ བྱ་ཁྲུང་ཆེན་མག་
 ལུག་ལ་ཆ་བཞག་ན། ¹⁹ སྟོ་སྟུག་པོ་འདྲ་བའི་སྐ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་གི། ²⁰ ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་གིས་བཤད་གི་ར། ²¹ འདི་ལི་ཁ་
 ཆར་དོག་མོས་ལ་ཅིག་ཁྲུང་ཟེར་གི། ²² ཁ་ཆར་དོག་མོས་ལ་ཅིག་ཁྲུང་ན་སྤང་མེ་རྟག་འདྲ་བའི་མདོག་ཅིག་འབྲུང་
 ལ་ཟེར་གི། ²³ སྟོང་རི་ཆེན་མག་ལུག་ལ་ཆ་བཞག་ན། ²⁴ ལམ་སྟུ་མོ་འདྲ་བའི་སྐ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཡིན། ²⁵ མག་པ་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་
 བརྒྱ། ²⁶ སྐ་རྒྱུ་ལ་བཅིངས་བཅིངས་སྟོང་ནས་བཅིང་དགོས། ²⁷ ས་ཨ་ཁུ་ལི་དབྱ་ལྟ་བུ་གསུམ་བཟོད་དགོས།
²⁸ སྐ་རྒྱུ་ལ་བཅིངས་བཅིངས་སྟོང་ནས་བཅིང་དགོས། ²⁹ ས་སྟུ་མོ་ལི་ཟས་སྟུ་བུ་གསུམ་བཟོད་དགོས། ³⁰ སྐ་
 རྒྱུ་ལ་བཅིངས་བཅིངས་སྟོང་ནས་བཅིང་དགོས། ³¹ ཁྲུང་མག་པ་ལི་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་གསུམ་བཟོད་དགོས། ³² རས་དཔེ་
 གཅིག་ལེན་ན་ཐེངས་གཅིག་བཟོད། ³³ མཐོ་དགུང་སྟོན་གནམ་ལ་དཔེ་ཞིག་ལེན་ན། ³⁴ འབྲུག་པོ་ཁྲུང་འདྲ་བའི་
 མག་པ་ཡོང་ནས། ³⁵ ཆར་ཟེམ་མ་འདྲ་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་འགྲིག། ³⁶ བངས་དཀར་ཆེ་མོར་དཔེ་ཞིག་ལེན་ན། ³⁷ མེར་
 དཀར་མོ་འདྲ་བའི་མག་པ་ཡོང་ནས། ³⁸ མཐོ་གཡུ་རལ་འདྲ་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་འགྲིག། ³⁹ ཕར་རྒྱ་རྒྱུང་ནགས་ལ་དཔེ་
 ཞིག་ལེན་ན། ⁴⁰ ལྷག་དར་མ་འདྲ་བའི་མག་པ་ཡོང་ནས། ⁴¹ རྒྱུ་བཟིག་ལེ་འདྲ་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་འགྲིག། ⁴² རང་ཁྲོམ་
 པ་ལི་གལ་ལ་དཔེ་ཞིག་ལེན་ན། ⁴³ ཁྲུང་མག་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་མོར་བྱ་ཡོང་ནས། ⁴⁴ བདག་གཞི་མཐོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་
 བསམ་དོན་འབྲུབ།

¹ nga'i ska rags 'di stod ri chen zhig gi sgang nas grol na ² ri chung zhig
 la dkris gsum rgyag ³ chu chen zhig gi kha nas grol na ⁴ chu chung zhig
 la zam pa nyan na ⁵ de ring khrom pa'i gral nas grol na ⁶ mag pa zhi
 lur dkris gsum rgyob ba ⁷ a zhang tshang gis bshad na ⁸ kha las rlung
 rta dar ⁹ bsod nams dbang thang dar ¹⁰ ska rags 'di'i khug 'go dgung
 sngon gnam la cig khyer zer gi ¹¹ khug 'go dgung sngon gnam la khyer
 na ¹² dgung sngon po 'dra ba'i mdog cig 'bud la ¹³ 'brug pho khyung
 nag ril la cha bzhag na ¹⁴ nag khra ring 'dra ba'i ska rags yin zer gi ¹⁵ a
 zhang tshang gis bshad gi ra ¹⁶ 'di'i sked pa bar snang khams la cig
 khyer zer g ¹⁷ sked pa bar snang khams la cig khyer na 'od ser po 'dra
 ba'i mdog zcig 'bud la zer gi ¹⁸ bya khyung chen mag phrug la cha
 bzhag na ¹⁹ sgro smug po 'dra ba'i ska rags yin zer gi ²⁰ a zhang tshang
 gis bshad gi ra ²¹ 'di'i kha tshar dog mo sa la cig khyer zer gi ²² kha
 tshar dog mo sa la cig khyer na spang me tog 'dra ba'i mdog cig 'bud

la zer gi ²³ stod ri chen mag phrug la cha bzhag na ²⁴ lam skya mo 'dra ba'i ska rags yin ²⁵ mag pa tshe ring lo brgya ²⁶ ska rags bcings bcings stod nas bcings dgos ²⁷ pha a khu'i dgra lha bcu gsum bstod dgos ²⁸ ska rags bcings bcings smad nas bcings dgos ²⁹ ma sru mo'i zas lha bcu gsum bstod dgos ³⁰ ska rags bcings bcings rked nas bcings dgos ³¹ khyod mag pa'i pho lha dgra lha bstod dgos ³² ngas dpe gcig len na thengs gcig bstod ³³ mtho dgung sngon gnam la dpe zhig len na ³⁴ 'brug pho khyung 'dra ba'i mag pa yong nas ³⁵ char zim ma 'dra ba'i rten 'brel 'grig ³⁶ gangs dkar rtse mor dpe zhig len na ³⁷ seng dkar mo 'dra ba'i mag pa yong nas ³⁸ mgo g.yu ral 'dra ba'i rten 'brel 'grig ³⁹ phar rgya rdzong nags la dpe zhig len na ⁴⁰ stag dar ma 'dra ba'i mag pa yong nas ⁴¹ rgyab thig le 'dra ba'i rten 'brel 'grig ⁴² nang khrom pa'i gral la dpe zhig len na ⁴³ khyod mag pa yid bzhin nor bu yong nas ⁴⁴ bdag gzhi mgron gnyis kyi bsam don 'grub

¹ ཡ། ² ངས་བསམ་དོན་འབྲུག་པའི་སྐ་རགས་ཤིག་བཅིང་། ³ འདིའི་མགོ་མ་གཡོན་ནས་བྲལ་སྟེ་གཡམས་ནས་མཐུད་ན། ⁴ རྟོང་དབུས་གཙང་བྲམ་མའི་ཆོས་མཐུད་ཡིན། ⁵ འདི་གཡམས་ནས་བྲལ་སྟེ་གཡོན་ནས་མཐུད་ན། ⁶ སྐད་རྒྱ་ནག་རྒྱལ་བོའི་དཔལ་མཐུད་ཡིན། ⁷ བྲུ་དཔལ་འཛོམས་རལ་གྱི་གཡུག་རྒྱུལ་ཡིན། ⁸ འདི་གཞུག་ནས་བྲལ་སྟེ་སྐྱུན་ནས་མཐུད་ན། ⁹ ལྷ་དག་ལྷ་སྟོན་མོའི་སེམས་མཐུད་ཡིན། ¹⁰ སྐྱུན་བྲུ་མོས་རྩལ་སྟེའི་རྒྱུལ་ཡིན། ¹¹ འདི་སྐྱུན་ནས་བྲལ་སྟེ་གཞུག་ནས་མཐུད་ན། ¹² རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་འཛོམས་གཅིག་མཐུད་ཡིན། ¹³ དར་ཆོན་དར་གྱི་མཐུད་པ་ཡིན། ¹⁴ སྐྱུ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་འཆིང་ལུགས་ཡིན། ¹⁵ སྐ་རགས་ཤུབ་ཤུབ་ཀྱིས་བཅིངས་ན། ¹⁶ སྟོང་བྲུ་དགུའི་ཨ་པ་ཉན། ¹⁷ བྲུ་དགུའི་འདྲ་ཞིག་གང་ལ་གནང་མོད། ¹⁸ སྟོང་རིག་པ་ཅན་གྱི་བྲུ་གསུམ་འབྲུངས། ¹⁹ ཨེ་དགོས།

¹ ya ² ngas bsam don 'grub pa'i ska rags shig bcings ³ 'di'i mgo ma g.yon nas blangs te g.yas nas mdud na ⁴ stod dbus gtsang bla ma'i chos mdud yin ⁵ 'di g.yas nas blangs te g.yon nas mdud na ⁶ smad rgya nag rgyal bo'i dpa' mdud yin ⁷ bu dpa' bos ral gri g.yug tshul yin ⁸ 'di gzhug nas blangs te sngun nas mdud na ⁹ lha dgra lha sngon mo'i sems mdud yin ¹⁰ sman bu mos ja kha sdeb tshul yin ¹¹ 'di sngun nas blangs te gzhug nas mdud na ¹² rin chen dpa' mkhar gcig mdud yin ¹³ dar tshon dar gyi mdud pa yin ¹⁴ sku rgyal bod kyi 'ching lugs yin ¹⁵ ska rags shub shub kyis bcings na ¹⁶ khyod bu dgu'i a pha nyan ¹⁷ bu dgu re 'dra zhig gang la gnang mod ¹⁸ khyod rig pa can gyi bu gsum 'khrungs ¹⁹ e dgos

¹ མག་པ་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་བརྒྱ། ² ད་བྲུ་རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་ཁ་ལས་དགེ་ནི་ཞིག་ཡིན། ³ རྟོང་རྒྱུད་མོས་ལག་བདེ་ནི་ཞིག་ཡིན། ⁴ བདག་ཁྲམ་འཛིན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རེ་བ་ལྟར་དུ། ⁵ ངས་མག་པ་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་བརྒྱར་ཁ་གཡང་དང་བྲག་ཤིས་འབོད། ⁶ དའི་ཆ་མོ་འདིའི་རིང་དུ། ⁷ སྟོང་གྱི་ཚོར་ས་རྩེ་སྐྱུག་པོ་ཚོར་གྱིས་གང། ⁸ རྟོ་ས་འཇག་རི་སུམ་འདོད་རྟོ་ཡིས་གང། ⁹ ལུག་ས་སྤང་རི་སྟོན་མོ་ལུག་གིས་གང། ¹⁰ ཞིང་ས་གསེར་གཞུང་རིང་མོ་ནས་གྱིས་གང། ¹¹ སྟོང་སྟོང་གྱི་མགོ་སྐྱ་

གྲུ་བཞི་ཙོ་མ་གྱིས་གང་། ¹² སྤྱ་མཐིང་སྤྱལ་གྱི་ཁ་རུ་ལྟོར་རྒྱུངས། ¹³ སྤྱལ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁ་འགོ་མའི་རྩི་བྱས། ¹⁴ སྤྱོད་བཅན་མོ་
ལམ་ལ་གྲག ¹⁵ སྤྱལ་ཁ་རྩ་ལམ་ལ་དགམ། ¹⁶ ཞེ་དགོས།

¹ mag pa tshe ring lo brgya ² nga bu chung chung kha las dge ni zhig
yin ³ rta chung chung gom lag bde ni zhig yin ⁴ bdag zhang 'dzin gnyis
kyi re ba ltar du ⁵ ngas mag pa tshe ring lo brgyar kha g.yang dang
bkra shis 'bod ⁶ nga'i tsha mo 'di'i ring du ⁷ khyod kyi nor sa rdza ri
smug po nor gyis gang ⁸ rta sa 'jag ri sum 'do rta yis gang ⁹ lug sa
spang ri sngon mo lug gis gang ¹⁰ zhing sa gser gzhang ring mo nas
kyis gang ¹¹ khyod skyid kyi mgo sbra gru bzhi nom gyis gang ¹² sbra
mthing smug gi kha ru lhor rkyongs ¹³ phyugs khra khra 'go lo'i rdzi
byos ¹⁴ khyod btsan lo lam la grag ¹⁵ phyugs rdza lam la dgram ¹⁶ e
dgos

¹ མག་པ་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་བརྒྱ། ² ང་རྩ་ཆུང་ཆུང་འགོ་ཡང་གོ་མ་ཤེས་ཤིག་ཡིན། ³ མི་ཆུང་ཆུང་གསར་ཡག་གཤམ་དག་ཅིག་
ཡིན། ⁴ ངས་སྤྱོད་ཁ་གཡང་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འབོད། ⁵ སྤྱོད་རྩ་འདྲི་བའི་ཐོང་ནས་བལ་དཀར་གྱི་ཡང་ཡིན། ⁶ གོ་མ་ཆ་
རུའི་ནང་ནས་མངའ་སྤྱལ་གྱི་བྱང་ཡིན། ⁷ བྱི་དག་པོའི་སྤྱན་ནས་སྒྲིག་ཞགས་གྱི་སྤྱར་ཡིན། ⁸ བྱི་པ་མའི་སྤྱན་ནས་
དར་དཀར་གྱི་འཇམ་ཡིན། ⁹ ཞེ་དགོས། ¹⁰ མག་པ་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་བརྒྱ། ¹¹ སྤྱོད་སྒོ་རིག་པ་ཉི་ཟླ་ཡི་གསལ་ཡིན། ¹² ནང་
ཡོན་ཏན་རི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མཐོ་ཡིན། ¹³ སེམས་ཁོག་རྒྱ་ས་གཞི་ཡི་ཡངས་ཡིན། ¹⁴ མཚན་སྤྱན་གསལ་འཛིན་རྟེན་གྱི་ཅེ་
ཡིན། ¹⁵ ཞེ་དགོས། ¹⁶ མག་པ་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་བརྒྱ། ¹⁷ རྩ་སྤང་ནས་གཤམ་པའི་ཉིན་མོར། ¹⁸ སྤྱོད་ལས་སྤང་མངའ་གང་
གིས་མཁྱེན་ཡིན། ¹⁹ སྤྱལ་ཁ་རྩ་སྤྱལ་ཁ་འཚོགས་པའི་ཉིན་མོར་མགོ་མོག་གི་རྩོངས་ཤིག་མཐོ་ནས་འདུག ²⁰ ཞེ་
དགོས། ²¹ མག་པ་ཆེ་རིང་ལོ་བརྒྱ། ²² སྤྱོད་སོང་ས་ནས་དོན་བྱ་འབྱུག། ²³ བསྐྱད་ས་ནས་ཁ་ལས་དགེ། ²⁴ ཞེ་ཞང་
གིས་ཁ་གཡང་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤིག་བོས་ཅི་ཡིན། ²⁵ ཞེ་དགོས།

¹ mag pa tshe ring lo brgya ² nga rta chung chung 'gro yang gom shes
shig yin ³ mi chung chung gsar yag gral dag cig yin ⁴ ngas khyod kha
g.yang dang bkra shis 'bod ⁵ khyod rta 'do ba'i gong nas bal dkar gyi
yang yin ⁶ gos tsha ru'i nang nas mda' smyug gi drang yin ⁷ phyi dgra
bo'i sngun nas glog zhags kyi myur yin ⁸ drin pha ma'i sngun nas dar
dkar gyi 'jam yin ⁹ e dgos ¹⁰ mag pa tshe ring lo brgya ¹¹ khyod blo rig
pa nyi zla yi gsal yin ¹² nang yon tan ri rgyal gyi mtho yin ¹³ sems khog
rgya sa gzhi yi yangs yin ¹⁴ mtshan snyan grags 'jig rten gyi rtse yin ¹⁵ e
dgos ¹⁶ mag pa tshe ring lo brgya ¹⁷ rta spang nas gshib pa'i nyin mor
¹⁸ khyod las srab mda' gang gis mgyogs yin ¹⁹ stag sha ra khrom la
'tshogs pa'i nyin mor mgo rmog gi rdzongs shig mtho nas 'dug ²⁰ e
dgos ²¹ mag pa tshe ring lo brgya ²² khyod song sa nas don bya 'grub
²³ bsdad sa nas kha las dge ²⁴ a zhang gis kha g.yang dang bkra shis
shig bos ni yin ²⁵ e dgos

SUMMARY

This orator begins by aspersing liquor to the sky while praising the earth, local deities, deities of the ancestors, deities of the *A zhang*, deities of the self, deities of the bridegroom, and all the deities of all the regions of Tibet. Secondly, he praises the dragon-decorated bowl that he holds. He explains the Eight Auspicious Symbols that decorate the bowl and how those symbols originated in Tibet. He then describes how the bowl was made in China and then sold back to Tibet, being transported from China to Tibet by mules. Thirdly, he praises the barley liquor inside the bowl, stating that its origin is in Tibet, and outlining the difficulties involved with growing and harvesting barley, and then brewing the liquor. He describes how the liquor glorifies the *A zhang* as they drink, emboldens young men, enlivens young women, and brings good fortune to all. Finally, he proposes that the bridegroom have a drink.

The *A zhang* orator then asks the groom to stand up and ties a sash around him while continuing the speech. He praises the various colored sashes, including blue, red, yellow, and purple and then wishes the bridegroom good luck. He praises colorful sashes from India that brought the groom-protecting deities; sashes from China with dragon symbols that brought the groom good fortune; and sashes from Tibet with symbols of Ge sar's horses that brought the groom good luck. He wishes the groom good fortune.

As he ties more sashes around the groom's waist, the *A zhang* continues to speak metaphorically. The first sash is tied from the left to the right side, and is described as the religious tie from Dbus gtsang. The second is tied from the right and is described as the heroic tie from China. The third is tied from back to front, and is described as the sash of defeating enemies and women carrying tea bricks. The fourth is tied from front to back, and is described as a way of unifying treasure castles. The orator says that tying the sashes loosely would bring the bridegroom nine children, but he wishes him to have only three wise sons, so he ties them tightly.

The *A zhang* next wishes that his niece, the bride, will bring wealth: yaks, many horses and sheep, abundant barley, and prestige to the family. Finally, he wishes that the groom will be brave, humble, wise, knowledgeable, tolerant, reputable, and achieve whatever he wishes.

A WEDDING ORATION

Wedding orations were historically an important part of wedding speeches displaying much variation. They give context for Tibetan belief, myths, customs, wealth, places, people, deities, and weddings. Sadly, in 2014, it was difficult to find local people capable of giving a complete wedding oration.

This oration is an overview of the wedding and may be given by an articulate orator from either the *A zhang* group or *gnyen tshang* group. The oration requires approximately half an hour and should be recited fluently. In 2014 it was difficult to find more than one or two people who could give this speech fluently in Bon skor Village. Khe bhe provided the following speech in 2008:

1 ཡ། 2 མཆོད་ཨོལ་རྩྱུ་རྩྱུ། 3 ལན་གསུམ། 4 མཆོད་བླ་མ་ཡི་དམ་མཆོད། 5 སངས་རྒྱལ་བྱང་མེམས་མཆོད།
6 དཔལ་བོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མཆོད། 7 ཆོས་སྦྱང་སྦྱང་མ་མཆོད། 8 ཡུལ་རྩ་གཞི་བདག་མཆོད། 9 བཀའ་སྤྱད་དམ་ཅན་
མཆོད། 10 ཡུལ་རིགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བོ་མཆོད། 11 གནས་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱང་མ་མཆོད། 12 སའི་ལྷེ་བརྒྱ་གར་དྲེ་རྒྱུ་
མཆོད། 13 གནས་དམ་པ་བྱ་རྩྱུ་པ་འཛིན་མཆོད།

1 ya 2 mchod oM AH hU~M 3 lan gsum 4 mchod bla ma yi dam mchod
5 sangs rgyas byang sems mchod 6 dpa' bo mkha' 'gro mchod 7 chos
skyong srung ma mchod 8 yul lha gzhi bdag mchod 9 bka' srung dam
can mchod 10 yul rigs kyi rgyal bo mchod 11 gnas rigs kyi srung ma
mchod 12 sa'i lte ba rgya gar rdo rje gdan mchod 13 gnas dam pa bya
rgod phung po ri mchod

1 ཡ། 2 མགོ་སྒྲུག་པོ་གངས་ཀྱི་ཡར་བྱང་ནས། 3 དགུང་ཐེམ་པ་བརྩུ་གསུམ་ཡན་ཆད་ནས། 4 རྩྱུ་རྩྱུ་ཆེན་ཆོངས་
པ་དཀར་པོ་མཆོད། 5 ཡུལ་ཨ་མ་ཐོག་མ་རྒྱལ་མོ་མཆོད། 6 ལྷ་རིགས་ཐོག་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བོ་མཆོད། 7 ལྷ་རིགས་ཉེས་ཁྲི་
དགུ་འབུམ་མཆོད། 8 ལྷ་དམག་ཕྱེ་བ་དྲུ་ཕྱུར་མཆོད། 9 གོས་འཁོར་གསུམ་གང་གི་པར་བྱང་ནས། 10 བན་བྱང་
ཕྱགས་སྒྲུ་མོའི་མཆོམས་གཞིས་མཆོད། 11 བྱང་མོ་དྲུ་ཕྱུར་དཀར་མོ་མཆོད། 12 བྱང་དམག་ཕྱེ་བ་དྲུ་ཕྱུར་
མཆོད། 13 རྩྱུ་རྩྱུ་གསུམ་གངས་ཀྱི་ཡར་བྱང་ནས། 14 ས་ཐེམ་པ་བརྩུ་གསུམ་ཡན་ཆད་ནས། 15 ས་ལ་གནས་བའི་
སྒྲུ་མཆོད། 16 སྒྲུ་རྒྱལ་གཙུག་ན་རིན་ཆེན་མཆོད། 17 སྒྲུ་མོ་དྲུ་ཕྱུར་དཀར་མོ་མཆོད། 18 སྒྲུ་ཕྱག་ཉེས་ཁྲི་དགུ་
འབུམ་མཆོད། 19 སྒྲུ་དམག་ཕྱེ་བ་དྲུ་ཕྱུར་མཆོད། 20 རྩྱུ་རྩྱུ་གསུམ་གང་གི་ཡར་བྱང་ནས། 21 རྩྱུ་རྩྱུ་གསུམ་མགོ་རྩྱུ་
དཀར་པོ་མཆོད། 22 བསྐལ་བ་རྩྱུ་གི་ཡར་བྱང་ནས། 23 བསྐལ་བ་ཟངས་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྩྱུ་མཆོད། 24 ལྷ་འགོ་
འའི་མཆོ་སྤྱིང་ནས། 25 ཐུགས་པའི་པད་མ་འབྱུང་གནས་མཆོད། 26 གཡུ་མོ་བཀོད་པའི་ཁེང་བཀོད་ནས། 27 རྩྱུ་
བརྩུ་འཕགས་མ་སྒྲུ་མ་མཆོད། 28 པ་རྒྱུད་གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་མཆོད། 29 མ་རྒྱུད་བདེ་མཆོག་འཁོར་མོ་མཆོད།

30 ཡི་དམ་དོན་འཛིན་ཁྱེད་མཆོད། 31 ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཉ་མཆོག་རྩལ་བ་མཆོད། 32 སྤྱད་མཛད་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མགོན་པོ་
 མགོན་ཀུན་ཚས་ཀྱི་ཉ་ལ་མཆོད། 33 དབང་ཕྱུག་འཛིན་ནུ་མི་ཉ་མཆོད། 34 གཤིན་རྗེ་ཉ་ཀྱི་རྩ་མཆོད།
 35 བདུད་མགོན་དྲག་ཤེད་ནག་པོ་མཆོད། 36 གཙང་རིས་ཀྱི་མགོན་པོ་བདུན་བཅུ་དོན་ལྔ་མཆོད། 37 བསྟན་སྤྱད་
 དམ་ཅན་ཚས་ཀྱི་མཆོད། 38 མ་སྤྱད་མ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་མོ་མཆོད། 39 འདོད་ཁམས་སྤྱོད་བའི་བསྟན་མ་བཅུ་
 གཉིས་མཆོད། 40 མཆོད་ཨོྭ་ཨུྭ་རྩྱ།

1 ya 2 mgo smug po gangs kyi yar bud nas 3 dgung them pa bcu gsum
 yan chad nas 4 stod lha chen tshangs pa dkar po mchod 5 yum a ne
 gong ma rgyal mo mchod 6 lha rigs thod kyi rgyal po mchod 7 lha rigs
 nyis khri dgu 'bum mchod 8 lha dmag phye ba dung phyur mchod
 9 gos 'khor gsum gang gi phar bud nas 10 ban byang phyogs sku lo'i
 mtshams gzhas mchod 11 byang mo dung skyong dkar mo mchod
 12 byang dmag phye ba dung phyur mchod 13 rkang sug lham gangs kyi
 mar bud nas 14 sa them pa bcu gsum man chad nas 15 sa la gnas ba'i
 klu mchod 16 klu rgyal gtsug na rin chen mchod 17 klu mo dung skyong
 dkar mo mchod 18 klu phrug nyes khri dgu 'bum mchod 19 klu dmag
 phye ba dung phyur mchod 20 stong gsum gang gi yar bud nas 21 stong
 gsum mgo lha dkar po mchod 22 bskal ba stong gi yar bud nas 23 skal
 bzang sangs rgyas stong sku mchod 24 d+h na ko sha'i mtsho gling nas
 25 sngags pa'i pad ma 'byung gnas mchod 26 g.yu lo bkod pa'i zhing
 bkod nas 27 rje btsun 'phags ma sgröl ma mchod 28 pha rgyud gsang ba
 'dus pa mchod 29 ma rgyud bde mchog 'khor lo mchod 30 yi dam rdo
 rje 'jigs byed mchod 31 khro rgyal rta mchog rol ba mchod 32 myur
 mdzad ye shes kyi mgon po mgon rgan k+She tra pa la mchod
 33 dbang phyug 'dzin nA mi tra mchod 34 gshin rje tra ki rA dza mchod
 35 bdud mgon drag shed nag po mchod 36 gtsang ris kyi mgon po bdun
 bcu don lnga mchod 37 bstan srung dam can chos rgyal mchod 38 ma
 srung ma dpal ldan lha mo mchod 39 'dod khams skyong ba'i bstan ma
 bcu gnyis mchod 40 mchod oM AH hU~M

1 སྤྱད་ཀྱི་མཛད་རིས་སྤོར་གསུམ་མཆོད། 2 བར་ཀྱི་དབྱུས་གཙང་རུ་བཞི་མཆོད། 3 སྤྱད་ཀྱི་མཛད་ཁམས་སྤྱད་བྱུག་
 མཆོད། 4 རི་ཡི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རི་རབ་མཆོད། 5 མ་ཉ་གསེར་ཀྱི་རུས་སྤུལ་མཆོད། 6 སྤྱིད་བ་ཆགས་པའི་སྤྱད་ཀྱི་མཆོད།
 7 འཛིན་སྤྱོད་བསྟན་མ་བཅུ་གཉིས་མཆོད། 8 རི་སྤྱོད་མ་ཅན་གྲང་ཆེན་འབྱེད་རི་མཆོད། 9 གནས་འགངས་ཆེན་རྩི་
 མོ་སྤྱོད་མཆོད། 10 མཆོད་ཨོྭ་ཨུྭ་རྩྱ།

1 stod kyi mnga' ris skor gsum mchod 2 bar kyi dbus gtsang ru bzhi
 mchod 3 smad kyi mdo khams sgang drug mchod 4 ri yi rgyal po ri rab
 mchod 5 ma ha gser gyi rus sbal mchod 6 srid pa chags pa'i lha dgu
 mchod 7 'dzam gling bstan ma bcu gnyis mchod 8 ri stobs can glang
 chen 'gying ri mchod 9 gnas 'gangs chen jo mo bla ri mchod 10 mchod

¹ཤར་ཕྱོགས་དྲི་རྩེ་སེམས་དཔའ་མཆོད། ²ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་རིན་ཆེན་འབྱུང་གནས་མཆོད། ³ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་སྤང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་མཆོད། ⁴དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་སངས་རྒྱས་མཆོད། ⁵རིགས་གསུམ་གྱི་མགོན་པོ་མཆོད། ⁶དེ་རིང་མགོན་པོའི་མགོན་ལྷ་མཆོད། ⁷བྱིས་འདི་ལ་གནས་པའི་སྤུང་མ་མཆོད། ⁸སྤུང་འཕྲུལ་འཁོར་བའི་ལུས་ལྷ་མཆོད། ⁹མཆོད་ཨོྭ་ཨུཿ་རྩྱུ།

¹ shar phyogs rdo rje sems dpa' mchod ² lho phyogs rin chen 'byung gnas mchod ³ nub phyogs snang ba mtha' yas mchod ⁴ dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas mchod ⁵ rigs gsum gyi mgon po mchod ⁶ de ring mgron po'i mgron lha mchod ⁷ khyim 'di la gnas pa'i srung ma mchod ⁸ bu rang la 'khor ba'i lus lha mchod ⁹ mchod oM AH hU~M

¹དགུ་བརྒྱ་ཐོབ་པའི་ཉེ་བྱས་ན། ²ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སྤུང་ལ་མོ་བཏབ་ན། ³ལོ་རྒྱུད་དུག་བཅུར་བཅུས་བྱས་ན། ⁴དེ་རིང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དོན་འགྲུབ་གྱི་ཉི་མ། ⁵ཕུན་སུན་ཆོགས་བའི་ཉི་མ། ⁶བྱ་བ་ཡར་འགྲོའི་ཉི་མ། ⁷སྤྱད་པ་ཡར་འཁེལ་གྱི་ཉི་མ། ⁸བདེ་ལེགས་འཛོམས་པའི་ཉི་མ་འདིར། ⁹ཨ་ཆེན་གངས་རི་དཀར་པོའི་ཡན་ཆད་ནས། ¹⁰བྱོང་མི་ཆེན་མོང་གོ་འདྲ་རིག་གི། ¹¹མོང་གཡུ་རལ་ལྷེ་མ་མེ་རྩེས་ནས་འགྱིངས་ན། ¹²ར་གཞོན་པ་ནགས་གྱི་སྒྲག་མོ་འདྲ་འདྲ་རིག་གི། ¹³སྒྲག་འཛུམ་གྱི་ཐིག་ལེ་ཁྲ་ལམ་མེར་སྐྱུ་ནས་བསུས་ན། ¹⁴དོ་གྲོན་ལ་རྟ་མ་ཆོགས། ¹⁵ལ་ཐུར་དུ་སྐྱ་མ་ཆོགས་པ། ¹⁶སྐྱ་ལྷུ་བཞིའི་གོང་ནས་མི་མ་ཆོགས་པའི་བདག་གཞིས་མགོན་གཉིས་ཀ་བདེ་མོ་ཡིན་ན།

¹ dgu brgya thob pa'i nye byas na ² sha rus bu rgyud la mo btab na ³ lo rgan drug bcur brtsis byas na ⁴ de ring bkra shis don 'grub kyi nyi ma ⁵ phun sun tshogs ba'i nyi ma ⁶ bya ba yar 'gro'i nyi ma ⁷ skud pa yar 'khel gyi nyi ma ⁸ bde legs 'dzoms pa'i nyi ma ⁹ 'dir a chen gangs ri dkar po'i yan chad nas ¹⁰ khyod mi chen seng ge 'dra 'dra rig gi ¹¹ seng g.yu ral ldem me rjes nas 'gyings na ¹² nga gzhon pa nags kyi stag mo 'dra 'dra rig gi ¹³ stag 'dzum gyi thig le khra lam mer sngun nas bsus na ¹⁴ ngo gyen la rta ma tshegs ¹⁵ la thur du sga ma tshegs pa ¹⁶ sga lhu bzhi'i gong nas mi ma tshegs pa'i bdag gzhis mgron gnyis ka bde mo yin na

¹འདི་ཕྱག་གི་ཁ་བཏགས་ལྷ་དགུ་མ་འདིར་བསྐྱོད་པ་རྩམ་གསུམ་ཞིག་བྱས་ན། ²འདི་སྐྱ་ལུལ་ཁམས་གྱི་སྐྱ་དར་ཡིན། ³སྐྱ་ལུལ་ཁམས་གྱི་སྐྱ་དར་ཡིན། ⁴ཡར་སྐྱ་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་བཀལ་ནི་ཡིན། ⁵བར་སྐྱ་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་བྱངས་ནི་ཡིན། ⁶མར་སྐྱ་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་བཏགས་ནི་ཡིན། ⁷འདིའི་ཕང་ཤིང་ཙན་དན་དཀར་པོ་ཡིན། ⁸ཕང་ལོ་གསེར་དོ་སེར་པོ་ཡིན། ⁹མགོ་སྐྱོམ་འབྲུ་ཤྲག་རྩེ་བརྒྱ་ཡིན། ¹⁰ཕང་སྐྱག་གྱུར་དམར་པོ་ཡིན། ¹¹ཡར་རྩལ་ཙན་དན་དཀར་པོ་ཡིན། ¹²མར་རྩལ་ཙན་དན་དམར་པོ་ཡིན། ¹³སྐྱ་རུག་དབུས་མིག་ཁྲ་མོ་ཡིན། ¹⁴འདིའི་སྐྱ་རེའི་ནང་ན་སྐྱ་རེ་

ཡོད། 15 སྐྱ་རེ་རེ་མིང་རེ་ཡོད་མོད། 16 ངས་དེ་འདྲ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་མི་ཤེས་ཀྱང་། 17 འདི་སྟོང་དབུས་གཙང་སྤྱི་
མའི་མཛུལ་དར་ཉན། 18 སྤྲང་རྒྱ་ནག་དཔོན་པོའི་ཐུགས་རྟེན་ཉན། 19 སྐྱ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཉི་དར་ཉན། 20 གཉེན་ཨ་
ཁུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ། 21 དེ་རིང་བུ་བུ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྤར་ཁ་སྒོར་བྱེད་ཡིན།

1 nga'i phrag gi kha btags lha dgu ma 'dir bstod pa rnam gsum zhig
byas na 2 'di lha yul khams kyi lha dar yin 3 klu yul khams kyi klu dar
yin 4 yar lha mo brgya yis bkal ni yin 5 bar sru mo brgya yis drangs ni
yin 6 mar klu mo brgya yis btags ni yin 7 'di'i phang shing tsan dan
dkar po yin 8 phang lo gser rdo ser po yin 9 mgo sdom 'bru shug rtse
brgya yin 10 phang sug gya rta dmar po yin 11 yar rdal tsan dan dkar po
yin 12 mar rdal tsan dan dmar po yin 13 su rug dbus mig khra mo yin
14 'di'i sku re'i nang na sku re yod 15 sku re rer ming re yod mod 16 ngas
de 'dra mang po zhig mi shes kyang 17 'di stod dbus gtsang bla ma'i
mjal dar nyan 18 smad rgya nag dpon po'i thugs rten nyan 19 sku rgyal
bod kyi nye dar nyan 20 gnyen a khu gnyis kyi bsam don 'grub 21 de
ring bu bu mo gnyis kyi spar kha skor byed yin

1 ང་རྟ་རྟུང་རྟུང་རྒྱུག་དག་ཆེ་ནི་མིན་མོད། 2 རྒྱ་སྤར་བསམ་མས་བཀའ་འབབ་གི། 3 རྒྱ་ཐུགས་སྤྲོ་མོས་ཚགས་
བཅུགས་ན། 4 མི་བརྒྱུག་ཐབས་མེད་ལས་བབས་ནས། 5 ང་མི་རྟུང་རྟུང་བཤད་དག་ཆེ་ནི་མིན་མོད། 6 གལ་
འགོའི་ཨ་ཁུ་སྤྲ་ར་ཅན་གྱིས་བཀའ་འབབ་གི། 7 གལ་སྟེད་ཀྱི་བུ་རྟུང་གི་རྟུང་ཅན་གྱིས་ཚགས་བཅུགས་ན། 8 ངས་
མི་བཤད་ཐབས་མེད་ལས་བབས་ནས། 9 ཡ། 10 ད་ནངས་ནམ་མཁའ་ཡར་ལང་འདིར། 11 དེ་རིང་ཉི་མའི་རྩེ་ཤར་
འདིར། 12 བཀ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་འདྲ་བའི་མགོན་འཛོགས། 13 འཛུལ་ཁ་མདོག་སྤྱ་ལྔ་འདྲ་བའི་དར་འཐེན།
14 བྱ་ཁུ་བྱུག་སྟོན་མོ་འདྲ་བའི་སྤྲུལ་ལེན། 15 གལ་གཡས་གལ་བལྟས་ན་གཡས་གལ་ཡག་གི། 16 གཡས་གལ་ཉི་མ་
ཤར་འདྲ་རེད། 17 གཡོན་གལ་བལྟས་ན་གཡོན་གལ་ཡག་གི། 18 གཡོན་གལ་གཡང་དུང་འབྲིལ་འདྲ་རེད།
19 གདོང་གལ་བལྟས་ན་གདོང་གལ་ཡག་གི། 20 གདོང་གལ་སྒྲ་བ་ཆོས་འདྲ་རེད། 21 མཐའ་གལ་བལྟས་ན་མཐའ་
གལ་ཡག་གི། 22 མཐའ་གལ་སྤར་ཆོགས་བཀའ་འདྲ་རེད། 23 དཀྱིལ་གལ་བལྟས་ན་དཀྱིལ་གལ་ཡག་གི།
24 དཀྱིལ་གལ་ཨ་ཁོང་འབྲིལ་འདྲ་རེད། 25 ཨ་ཁོང་ནང་ནས་སྤྲུལ་ལེན་གི། 26 སྤྲང་སྤྲུལ་མོ་ཁུ་བྱུག་གལ་འདྲ་རེད།
27 ཟས་ཀ་ར་བུ་རམ་གྱི་སྟེར་ཁ་སྤྲིག་འདྲ་རེད། 28 ཆང་བདུད་རྩི་བསམ་མས་མཚོ་མོ་འབྲིལ་བ། 29 སྤྲུལ་ལེན་དང་
གར་རྩེད་བྱེད་པ། 30 ཀྱ་རེས་དང་ཁ་རྒྱལ་རྩེད་པ། 31 དེ་རིང་འཛོགས་པའི་ཁྲོམ་པ་འཛིགས་ཆེ་གི། 32 ང་བཤད་
པའི་ཞི་ལུའི་སྟོང་རྟུང་གི། 33 ང་གངས་དཀར་སེམས་སྤྱ་འཆར་དཀར་བས། 34 ཆོག་གཅིག་གིས་འཁྲུག་ན།
35 གལ་འགོའི་ཨ་ཁུ་སྤྲ་ར་ཅན་གྱིས་ང་ཁ་ཤོག་དང་བཤད་ལོག་མ་བརྒྱུ། 36 ཆོག་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་འཁྲུག་ན། 37 གལ་
སྟེད་ཀྱི་བུ་རྟུང་གི་རྟུང་ཅན་གྱིས་ང་ཁ་འཕུས་དང་སྟོང་འཕུས་མ་གདོང་། 38 ཆོག་གསུམ་འཁྲུག་ན། 39 གལ་འའི་
བུ་མོ་དུང་རལ་ཅན་གྱིས་ང་ཁ་དགོད་དང་ཁོང་དགོད་མ་བྱེད།

¹ nga rta chung chung rgyug dga' che ni min mod ² rgya srab bsil mas
 bka' 'bab gi ³ rgya lcags phra mos tshags btsugs na ⁴ mi brgyug thabs
 med las babs nas ⁵ nga mi chung chung bshad dga' che ni min mod
⁶ gral 'go'i a khu sma ra can gyis bka' 'bab gi ⁷ gral sked kyi bu chung
 gri chung can gyis tshags btsugs na ⁸ ngas mi bshad thabs med las
 babs nas ⁹ ya ¹⁰ da nangs nam mkha' yar lang 'dir ¹¹ de ring nyi ma'i
 rtse shar 'dir ¹² bkra shis rtags brgyad 'dra ba'i mgron 'tshogs ¹³ 'ja' kha
 mdog sna lnga 'dra ba'i dar 'then ¹⁴ bya khu byug sngon mo 'dra ba'i
 glu len ¹⁵ gral g.yas gral bltas na g.yas gral yag gi ¹⁶ g.yas gral nyi ma
 shar 'dra red ¹⁷ g.yon gral bltas na g.yon gral yag gi ¹⁸ g.yon gral g.yang
 drung 'khyil 'dra red ¹⁹ gdong gral bltas na gdong gral yag gi ²⁰ gdong
 gral zla ba tshes 'dra red ²¹ mtha' gral ltas na mtha' gral yag gi ²² mtha'
 gral skar tshogs bkram 'dra red ²³ dkyil gral bltas na dkyil gral yag gi
²⁴ dkyil gral a long 'khyil 'dra red ²⁵ a long nang nas glu len gi ²⁶ skad
 snyan mo khu byug grag 'dra red ²⁷ zas ka ra bu ram gyi sder kha sgrig
 'dra red ²⁸ chang bdud rtsi bsil mas mtsho mo 'khyil ba ²⁹ glu len dang
 gar rtsed byed pa ³⁰ ku res dang kha rgyal rtsed pa ³¹ de ring 'tshogs
 pa'i khrom pa 'jigs che gi ³² nga bshad pa'i zhi lu'i snying chung gi
³³ nga gangs dkar sems su 'char dka' bas ³⁴ tshig gcig gis 'chug na
³⁵ gral 'go'i a khu sma ra can gyis nga kha log dang bshad log ma
 brgyag ³⁶ tshig gnyis kyis 'chug na ³⁷ gral sked kyi bu chung gri chung
 can gyis nga kha 'phyas dang snying 'phyas ma gtong ³⁸ tshig gsum
 'chug na ³⁹ gral rnga'i bu mo dung ral can gyis nga kha dgod dang
 khung dgod ma byed

¹ དང་པོ་ལྷ་ལྷ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཉེ་བྱས་ནས། ² ལྷ་འི་དབང་པོ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་གྱི་འཁྱེད་དབང་ཆེ་སྟོན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ལ་མནའ་
 མར་བྱིན། ³ ལྷ་ཆེན་ལྷེ་བཞེས་བར་བྱས། ⁴ བག་མའི་བར་བ་དེ་ནས་དར་ཟེག། ⁵ ལྷ་གཡག་ཀ་བ་ར་འི་པོ་འི་
 ཅར་བྱིན། ⁶ བག་མའི་བར་ཅ་དེ་ནས་དར། ⁷ ལྷ་པོ་དཔོན་པད་མས་སྒྲུབ་བྱས། ⁸ བག་མའི་སྒྲུབ་དེ་ནས་
 དར། ⁹ གོས་ལུག་དབང་པད་མ་སྟོན་ལྷ་ཁེབ་ཏུ་བྱིན། ¹⁰ བག་མའི་སྒྲུབ་ཁེབ་དེ་ནས་དར། ¹¹ ལྷ་རྟ་དཀར་པོ་
 བག་རྟ་བྱས། ¹² བག་མའི་བག་རྟ་དེ་ནས་དར། ¹³ ལྷ་ཁྱེན་བྱུག་ཁྱེན་མས་བག་རྟོགས་བྱས། ¹⁴ བག་མའི་བག་རྟོགས་དེ་
 ཅས་དར། ¹⁵ ཤར་ཉེ་ལྷ་སྒྲར་གསུམ་བག་བསྐྱུལ་བྱས། ¹⁶ བག་མའི་བག་བསྐྱུལ་དེ་ནས་དར། ¹⁷ འཇའ་ཆོན་སྒྲུབ་
 ལྷ་ས་གོས་བསྟོན་བརྒྱབ། ¹⁸ བག་མའི་གོས་བསྟོན་དེ་ནས་དར། ¹⁹ གསེར་དངུལ་དར་གསུམ་གྱིས་རྫོང་ས་པ་བྱས།
²⁰ བག་མའི་རྫོང་ས་པ་དེ་ནས་དར། ²¹ མཚོ་དཀྱིལ་ལྷ་ལྷོ་རྒྱ།

¹ dang po lha klu gnyis kyis nye byas nas ² lha'i dbang bo brgya byin
 gyi bu mo lha dbang tshe sgron klu'i yul la mna' mar byin ³ rgyal chen
 sde bzhis bar byas ⁴ bag ma'i bar ba de nas dar zig ⁵ lha g.yag ka ba
 rwa ring po'i rtsar byin ⁶ bag ma'i bar rtsa de nas dar ⁷ slob dpon pad
 mas sna 'khrus byas ⁸ bag ma'i sna 'khrus de nas dar ⁹ gos 'gu dbang
 pad ma stong ldan rna kheb tu byin ¹⁰ bag ma'i rna kheb de nas dar
¹¹ lha rta dkar po bag rta byas ¹² bag ma'i bag rta de nas dar ¹³ smin

drug khra mos bag rogs byas ¹⁴ bag ma'i bag rogs de nas dar ¹⁵ shar nyi
 zla skar gsum bag bskyel byas ¹⁶ bag ma'i bag bskyal de nas dar ¹⁷ 'ja'
 tshon sna lngas gos bskon brgyab ¹⁸ bag ma'i gos bskon de nas dar
¹⁹ gser dngul dar gsum gyis rdzongs pa byas ²⁰ bag ma'i rdzongs pa de
 nas dar ²¹ mchod oM AH hU~M

¹ དང་པོ་ཚས་དམ་ཆེག་གི་འབྲེལ་བ། ² སློབ་དཔོན་དང་སློབ་མའི་འབྲེལ་བ། ³ གནམ་ས་གཉིས་ཆར་ཚུའི་འབྲེལ་བ།
⁴ ཤར་ཚུབ་གཉིས་ཉི་ལྔའི་འབྲེལ་བ། ⁵ རྩ་བྱང་གཉིས་སྟེ་བསེར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ། ⁶ སྤྱིང་སྤྱེ་གཉིས་ཉི་ལྔའི་འབྲེལ་བ།
⁷ འབྲེལ་བ་ལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཁུངས་སུ་བཤད་ན། ⁸ དགྲུང་མཐོན་པོ་ཉི་ལྔ་ཤར་ས་ཡིན། ⁹ ཐང་ཆེན་པོ་རྩ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་ས་
 ཡིན། ¹⁰ ཁྲོམ་ཆེན་པོ་མི་ཆེན་འཛོགས་ས་ཡིན། ¹¹ ཁ་རྩེ་གནམ་གྱིས་གནད་ཟིག། ¹² མཐོན་སྐྱབས་སྤྲུལ་བྱས་ཟིག།
¹³ མཛེས་པའི་གཉེན་བསྟེན་གས། ¹⁴ མཐུན་པའི་ཆེག་སྟེན། ¹⁵ དགའ་བའི་གར་འབྲུབ། ¹⁶ སྦྱིང་པའི་སྤྱུ་བྲངས།

¹ dang po chos dam tshig gi 'brel ba ² slob dpon dang slob ma'i 'brel ba
³ gnam sa gnyis char chu'i 'brel ba ⁴ shar nub gnyis nyi zla'i 'brel ba
⁵ lho byang gnyis skyi bser gyi 'brel ba ⁶ srid sde gnyen gyi 'brel ba
⁷ 'brel ba la sogs kyi khungs su bshad na ⁸ dgung mthon po nyi zla shar
 sa yin ⁹ thang chen po rta chen rgyug sa yin ¹⁰ khrom chen po mi chen
 'tshogs sa yin ¹¹ kha rje gnam gyis gnang zig ¹² mgon skyabs lhas byas
 zig ¹³ mdzes pa'i gnyen bsgrigs ¹⁴ mthun pa'i tshig smras ¹⁵ dga' ba'i gar
 'khrab ¹⁶ skyid pa'i glu blangs

¹ ཉེ་ལམ་ཉི་མའི་ར་མདུབ། ² ར་ལམ་གངས་ཀྱི་ཐེམ་པ། ³ སྟེ་མཐུན་བྲག་དང་ཤུག་པ། ⁴ ར་མཐུན་ཚུ་དང་འོ་མ།
⁵ ཤར་ཁྱི་གདུགས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ། ⁶ ཤར་རྩ་སྤྲུལ་མེན་པའི་སྤྲུལ་ལམ་དུང་། ⁷ རྩ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྤོན་མོ་གས་ནས།
⁸ དབྱར་དགུན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཤར་འབྲེན། ⁹ བྱང་སྟེ་བསེར་གྱི་རི་བོས། ¹⁰ རྩ་སྤྱིང་གྱི་གོང་བ་བརྒྱན། ¹¹ དགྲུང་བྱ་
 ཆེན་གྱི་གཤོག་པ་བསྐྱམས་ན། ¹² འོག་སྤྱུ་སྤྱིག་དང་སྤྱིག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་གཅོན། ¹³ རྩ་ཆེན་སྤྲུ་ཆོགས་
 གསེར་གྱི་རི་བོ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ། ¹⁴ སྤྱང་ན་དམ་ཆེག་ཤེལ་གྱི་ཤེང་བ། ¹⁵ བྱི་ནད་བཙན་སྤྲུལ་བརྒྱའི་ལོ་མ། ¹⁶ རྒྱ་
 མཆན་གྱི་གཏམ་རེ་བཤད་ན། ¹⁷ རྩ་མ་ཁར་སྐར་ཆོགས་ཤར་བ་རྩ་བུའི་མང་འགྲོ། ¹⁸ མང་སོང་ན་བསྐྱུ་དཀའ།
¹⁹ རྩ་ལྷུང་དོན་རྒྱུད་གི་གཏམ་རེ་བཤད་ན། ²⁰ རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞིའི་སྤྱིང་དུ། ²¹ ལྷུང་གི་ཆོམ་བུ་
 བཀོད་པ་རྩ་བུ་རྩུང་འགྲོ། ²² རྩ་ལོང་ན་འདུ་དཀའ། ²³ དས་མི་མང་མི་རྩུང་བའི་གཏམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན། ²⁴ དང་
 པོ་ཚས་རྒྱལ་རལ་བ་ཅན་པོ་བོད་དུ་བྱོན། ²⁵ རྒྱ་དཀར་ནག་གཉིས་ས་མཆོམས་སྟེ། ²⁶ སྤྲུ་སྤྲུག་པོའི་མཐོ་སྤྲུ་དེ་ནས་
 དར། ²⁷ འདིའི་ཤུག་ཆོན་སྤྲུ་ཆོན་ཆངས་བས་འབྲེན། ²⁸ གངས་དཀར་པོའི་འདབས་སུ་འབྲེན། ²⁹ དགྲུང་སྤོན་
 གནམ་ལ་འཇུག་འབྲེན། ³⁰ རྩ་ཆེན་དགྲུང་སྤོན་རྒྱན་ནས་སྤྲད། ³¹ སེང་ཐང་དཀར་ཡག་གིས་གོང་བ་འབྲེན།
³² དོག་མོ་ས་གཞི་སྤེ་བར་སྤྲད། ³³ སྤྱུ་བཞི་རྒྱལ་ཆོན་སྤེ་བཞིས་བཀྲགས། ³⁴ མཐུན་པ་སྤྲུན་བཞིས་ཁ་གཡང་
 བོས། ³⁵ ཆོན་བཞི་སྤྱུགས་བཞིར་འབྲེན་ནས་ཤུར་བཞི་སར་བདུབ། ³⁶ དགྲུ་བཞི་ཕམ་པར་བཏང་།

³⁷ འདིའི་བྱིས་ལྷ་ལྷ་ཤིང་ཤུག་པ་ཡིན། ³⁸ ལྷག་ས་ཁྲ་ཁྲ་ས་གཞི་ཁེབས་རྒྱ་ཡིན། ³⁹ རང་སྣོ་ལྷ་ཤིང་རྟག་པ་ཡིན།
⁴⁰ པ་ཨ་ཁུའི་སྣོ་ཆོ་བརྟན་རྒྱ་ཡིན། ⁴¹ ངོ་ཐིག་ཐམས་ཅད་དངུལ་ཐག་ཡིན། ⁴² ཆ་རུ་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱུ་རུ་ཡིན།
⁴³ ལྷའི་ཡ་ལག་ན་མོ་འདོམ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཡོད། ⁴⁴ ལྷག་ཤར་ས་རྟ་རྒྱག་བྱེད་ས་ཡོད། ⁴⁵ རྟ་རྒྱག་ན་རྟིང་མ་ལེན་ས་
ཡོད། ⁴⁶ ལྷའི་མ་ལག་ན་མོ་འདོམ་དགྲ་བརྒྱ་ཡོད། ⁴⁷ མ་བྱུ་མོས་སྤྲུལ་ལེན་བྱེད་ས་ཡོད། ⁴⁸ ལྷ་ལྷངས་ན་གར་ཡང་
འབྲབ་ས་ཡོད། ⁴⁹ མཆོམས་བཞི་ན་སྦྱེན་པོའི་མདའ་ར་ཡོད། ⁵⁰ མདའ་འཕང་ན་དཔའ་དར་ལེན་ས་ཡོད། ⁵¹ ལྷ་
ཀི་ལྷེར་བྱས་རྟེ་ཡོད། ⁵² རང་ཡང་ལྷེར་བྱས་རྟེ་ཡོད། ⁵³ ལྷ་གར་འབྲབ་ན་ས་མི་འགྲུལ། ⁵⁴ ཞོས་རྩ་ཆེན་གྱིན་ན་
རུ་མི་འགོས། ⁵⁵ མཆོད་ཨོ་ཨུ་རྒྱུ།

¹ nye lam nyi ma'i ra mda ² rdza lam gangs kyi them pa ³ skye mthun
brag dang shug pa ⁴ ja mthun chu dang 'o ma ⁵ shar khri sdug gi nyi
ma ⁶ shar na smag min pa'i smug lam dung ⁷ lho g.yu 'brug sngon mo
grag nas ⁸ dbyar dgun gnyis kyis shar 'then ⁹ byang skyi bser gyi ri bos
¹⁰ lho sprin gyi gong ba brgyan ¹¹ dgung bya chen gyi gshog pa bsdams
na ¹² 'og klu sdig dang sdig pa thams cad thabs kyis gnon ¹³ stod na sna
tshogs gser gyi ri bo bcu gsum ¹⁴ smad na dam tshig shel gyi phreng
ba ¹⁵ phyi nang btsan sum bcu'i lo ma ¹⁶ rgyu mtshan gyi gtam re
bshad na ¹⁷ nam mkhar skar tshogs shar ba lta bu'i mang 'gro ¹⁸ mang
song na bsdu dka' ¹⁹ nyung nyung don chung gi gtam re bshad na
²⁰ rin chen gser gyi sa gzhi'i steng du ²¹ mu tig gi tshom bu bkod pa lta
bu nyung 'gro ²² nyung song na 'du dka' ²³ ngas mi mang mi nyung ba'i
gtam zhig bshad na ²⁴ dang po chos rgyal ral ba can po bod du byon
²⁵ rgya dkar nag gnyis sa mtshams phye ²⁶ sbra smug po'i mgo sbra de
nas dar ²⁷ 'di'i phug chon lha chen tshangs bas 'then ²⁸ gangs dkar po'i
'dabs su 'then ²⁹ dgung sngon gnam la 'ju thag 'then ³⁰ sgo chen dgung
sngon rgyan nas sprad ³¹ seng thang dkar yag gis gong ba 'then ³² dog
mo sa gzhi lte bar sprad ³³ gru bzhi rgyal chen sde bzhis bkyags
³⁴ mthun pa spun bzhis kha g.yang bos ³⁵ chon bzhi phyogs bzhir 'then
nas phur bzhi sar brdab ³⁶ dgra bzhi pham par btang ³⁷ 'di'i phyi sgo
lha shing shug pa yin ³⁸ phyugs khra khras sa gzhi khebs rgyu yin
³⁹ nang sgo lha shing rtag pa yin ⁴⁰ pha a khu'i sku tshe brtan rgyu yin
⁴¹ ngo thig thams cad dngul thag yin ⁴² cha ru thams cad byu ru yin
⁴³ sbra'i ya lag na pho 'dom bzhi brgya yod ⁴⁴ stag sha ras rta rgyug
byed sa yod ⁴⁵ rta rgyug na rting ma len sa yod ⁴⁶ sbra'i ma lag na mo
'dom dgu brgya yod ⁴⁷ ma bu mos glu len byed sa yod ⁴⁸ glu blangs na
gar yang 'khrab sa yod ⁴⁹ mtshams bzhi na skyen po'i mda' ra yod
⁵⁰ mda' 'phang na dpa' dar len sa yod ⁵¹ phyi ki ldir byas te yod ⁵² nang
yang ldir byas te yod ⁵³ glu gar 'khrab na sa mi 'gul ⁵⁴ gos rtsa chen
gyon na rdul mi 'gos ⁵⁵ mchod oM AH hU~M

¹ ད་ནངས་ནམ་ལངས་ཀྱི་དང་པོ། ² ཉི་ཤར་གྱི་ཅེ་མོ། ³ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་འགོ་མ་འདིར། ⁴ སྤང་ཐང་དཀར་ཡག་གི་
 མོང་བ་ནས། ⁵ མ་ཁར་སྐྱུ་མོའི་གསེར་སྟོ་ལྟ་རུ་བསྟོར་ནས། ⁶ སྟག་དང་གཟིག་གི་ཐིག་ལེ་བསྐྱིགས་ན། ⁷ རྟགས་
 དང་རྟོན་མོ་དེ་ནས་འཛིགས། ⁸ བདག་གཞིས་མགོན་གཉིས་ཀ་གཡལ་ལ་འཆོགས་ན། ⁹ གཡལ་གཡས་ས་གསེར་གྱི་ཉི་
 མ་ཤར་འབྲེལ་ཡིན། ¹⁰ གཡོན་ས་དྲུང་གི་ཁྲ་བ་ཆོས་འབྲེལ་ཡིན། ¹¹ རྒྱལ་རི་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུན་པོ་ལ། ¹² ལུ་དཔལ་འབོས་དཔལ་
 དར་གཤམ་འབྲེལ་ཡིན། ¹³ གསུངས་ཡངས་པའི་བ་དན་སྐྱུ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་ཆ་དང་འབྲེལ། ¹⁴ སྐྱུ་མི་གཟུ་ཐོན་རག་
 བར། ¹⁵ གཡག་ཞོན་གྱི་ཁ་ཐོན་ཅི་མིན་མོད།

¹ da nangs nam langs kyi dang po ² nyi shar gyi rtse mo ³ rten 'brel gyi
 'go ma 'dir ⁴ spang thang dkar yag gi gong ba nas ⁵ mkhar skya mo'i
 gser sgo lho ru bskor nas ⁶ stag dang gzig gi thig le bsgrigs na ⁷ rtags
 dang ston mo de nas 'jigs ⁸ bdag gzhis mgron gnyis ka gral la 'tshogs
 na ⁹ gral g.yas sa gser gyi nyi ma shar 'dra yin ¹⁰ g.yon sa dung gi zla ba
 tshes 'dra yin ¹¹ rgyab ri rgyal lhun po la ¹² bu dpa' bos dpa' dar gshar
 'dra yin ¹³ gsungs yangs pa'i ba dan glu dbyangs kyi snyan cha dang
 'dra ¹⁴ skya mi yi gzu thon rag bar ¹⁵ g.yag zhon gyi kh thon ni min
 mod

¹ ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་གིས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ² ཁོང་གི་བུ་མོ་འདི་པ་དགུང་སྟོན་འབྲེལ་བའི་བུ་མོ་ཡིན། ³ ཕ་རྟ་ཇོ་པོ་གཡུ་སྟོང་
 དགོས། ⁴ མ་འབྲུག་མོ་འབྲེལ་བའི་བུ་མོ་ཡིན། ⁵ མ་རྟ་གཞིས་མོ་ལག་དཀར་དགོས། ⁶ ཞང་རྒྱ་སྟག་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཆ་མོ་
 ཡིན། ⁷ ཞང་རྟ་ཁམ་པ་རྟོག་རིང་དགོས། ⁸ མིང་ལུ་སྐྱུ་འབྲེལ་བའི་སྤང་ཐང་མོ་དགོས། ⁹ མིང་རྟ་དང་ཆུང་གསེར་མགོ་
 དགོས། ¹⁰ ཁོང་གི་བུ་མོ་འདི་ཡིད་བཞིན་གྱི་ཅོར་བུ་ཡིན། ¹¹ ཡིད་བཞིན་ཅོར་བུ་ཅོར་ལ་བརྟེན་དགོས། ¹² ཅོར་ས་ན་
 ལུང་གོང་མ་ནས། ¹³ ཅོར་ཅོར་མོ་དགུ་བརྒྱ་དགུ་སྟོང་དགོས། ¹⁴ ཅོར་བྱུར་བྲེ་མེར་འབྲོང་ཞིག་དགོས། ¹⁵ འབྲོང་
 ལ་སྐྱུ་མོ་བུལ་ནས་དགོས། ¹⁶ ཁོང་གི་བུ་མོ་འདི་རྟ་མགིན་དམར་པོ་ཡིན། ¹⁷ རྟ་མགིན་དམར་པོ་རྟ་རུ་བརྟེན་དགོས་
 ཟེར། ¹⁸ རྟ་ས་འཇག་རུ་སྐྱུ་མོ་མདོ་ནས། ¹⁹ རྟ་འདོ་བ་དགུ་བརྒྱ་དགུ་སྟོང་དགོས། ²⁰ རྟ་བྱུར་ཁ་དཀར་རྒྱང་ཞིག་
 དགོས་ཟེར། ²¹ རྒྱང་ཁ་དཀར་ཁ་ལོ་བུལ་ནས་དགོས་ཟེར། ²² ཁོང་གི་བུ་མོ་གཡུང་ལུང་ལུག་རྒྱུད་ཡིན།
²³ གཡུང་ལུང་ལུག་རྒྱུད་ལུག་ལ་བརྟེན་དགོས་ཟེར། ²⁴ ལུག་ས་སྤང་རི་ཐོང་དཀར་ནས། ²⁵ ལུག་སྟོང་ལུག་ཅིག་དང་
 ལྷ་བརྒྱ་དགོས་ཟེར། ²⁶ ལུག་བྱུར་སྐྱུ་ག་རིལ་དགོ་ཞིག་དགོས་ཟེར། ²⁷ དགོ་སྐྱུ་ག་རིལ་གཡུང་ལ་ཕབ་ནས་དགོས་
 ཟེར། ²⁸ ཁོང་ཆང་ཐང་ཆེན་རུ་གྱིས་བཀང་དགོས། ²⁹ ལམ་ཆེན་ཁ་ཤ་འབའིག་སྤྱད་དགོས།

¹ a zhang tshang gis bshad rgyur ² khong gi bu mo 'di pha dgung sngon
 'dra ba'i bu mo yin ³ pha rta jo bo g.yu sgong dgos ⁴ ma 'brug mo 'dra
 ba'i bu mo yin ⁵ ma rta gzhis mo lag dkar dgos ⁶ zhang rgya stag 'dra
 ba'i tsha mo yin ⁷ zhang rta kham pa rngog ring dgos ⁸ ming khu byug
 'dra ba'i sring mo dgos ⁹ ming rta ngang chung gser mgo dgos ¹⁰ khong
 gi bu mo 'di yid bzhin gyi nor bu yin ¹¹ yid bzhin nor bu nor la brje

dgos ¹² nor sa na lung gong ma nas ¹³ nor nor mo dgu brgya dgu stong
 dgos ¹⁴ nor khyur bre ser 'brong zhig dgos ¹⁵ 'brong la sna lo btul nas
 dgos ¹⁶ khong gi bu mo 'di rta mgrin dmar po yin ¹⁷ rta mgrin dmar po
 rta ru brje dgos zer ¹⁸ rta sa 'jag ru sum mdo nas ¹⁹ rta 'do ba dgu brgya
 dgu stong dgos ²⁰ rta khyur kha dkar rkyang zhig dgos zer ²¹ rkyang
 kha dkar kha lo btul nas dgos zer ²² khong gi bu mo g.yung drung lug
 rgyud yin ²³ g.yung drung lug rgyud lug la brje dgos zer ²⁴ lug sa spang
 ri thod dkar nas ²⁵ lug stong lug cig dang lnga brgya dgos zer
²⁶ lug khyur smug ril dgo zhig dgos zer ²⁷ dgo smug ril g.yung la phab
 nas dgos zer ²⁸ khong tshang thang chen rdul gyis bkang dgos ²⁹ lam
 chen kha sha bshig spyad dgos

¹གཉེན་ཚང་ཚང་གིས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ²ཁོང་དཀར་པོ་ཆོས་ལ་དང་པ་ཆེ་བཟེ། ³སྤྱུག་པོ་གཉེན་ལ་ཞེ་བརྩེ་ཆེ་བཟེ།
⁴ནག་པོ་དག་ལ་ཞེ་སྤང་ཆེ། ⁵ཁོང་ལ་ཅོར་ས་ན་ལུང་གོང་མ་ན། ⁶ཅོར་སྤོང་ཅོར་དང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཡོད། ⁷བྱུ་ན་ལྔ་
 གཡམ་ག་ལ་བ་རུ་རིང་ཡོད། ⁸བན་གྱིས་བཏགས་པ་གཡམ་ན་ཡོད། ⁹བོན་གྱིས་བཏགས་པ་གཡོན་ན་ཡོད།
¹⁰སྤྱུགས་པའི་བྲིལ་ཆུང་སྟེ་ན་ཡོད། ¹¹མི་འཛིན་ཞང་ལྔ་བྱེད་ཆང་སྟེར་བཟེ། ¹²ཞང་བྱེད་ཆང་གིས་ལེན་ཤེས་
 ཤེས་དང་བྱེད་ཤེས་བྱས། ¹³རྟ་ས་འཇག་རུ་སྤུམ་མདོ་ན། ¹⁴རྟ་སྤོང་རྟ་དང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཡོད། ¹⁵བྱུ་ན་ལྔ་རྟ་མགིན་
 དམར་པོ་ཡོད་བཟེ། ¹⁶བན་གྱིས་བཏགས་པ་གཡམ་ན་ཡོད། ¹⁷བོན་གྱིས་བཏགས་པ་གཡོན་ན་ཡོད། ¹⁸སྤྱུགས་
 པའི་བྲིལ་ཆུང་སྟེ་ན་ཡོད། ¹⁹མི་འཛིན་ཞང་ལྔ་བྱེད་ཆང་སྟེར་བཟེ། ²⁰ཞང་བྱེད་ཆང་གིས་ལེན་ཤེས་ཤེས་དང་
 བྱེད་ཤེས་བྱས་བཟེ། ²¹ལུག་ས་སྤང་རི་ཐོང་དཀར་ན། ²²ལུག་སྤོང་ལུག་དང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཡོད་བཟེ། ²³བྱུ་ན་སྤྱུག་
 རིལ་དགོ་ཞིག་ཡོད་བཟེ། ²⁴བན་གྱིས་བཏགས་པ་གཡམ་ན་ཡོད་བཟེ། ²⁵བོན་གྱིས་བཏགས་པ་གཡོན་ན་ཡོད།
²⁶སྤྱུགས་བྱི་བྲིལ་ཆུང་སྟེ་ན་ཡོད། ²⁷མི་འཛིན་ཞང་ལྔ་བྱེད་ཆང་སྟེར་བཟེ། ²⁸ཞང་བྱེད་ཆང་གིས་ལེན་ཤེས་
 ཤེས་དང་བྱེད་ཤེས་བྱས་བཟེ། ²⁹ཨ་ཞང་ཆང་གཡམ་གཡམ་གཡོན་གཡམ་གདོང་གཡམ་གསུམ་རེད། ³⁰གཡམ་
 མགོ་སྟོར་ནས་པ་ཁུ་བཞུགས། ³¹མོང་དཀར་མོ་གངས་ནས་འབྱིངས་འདྲ་རེད། ³²གཡམ་དཀར་ལུག་གི་ཆང་
 རིལ་ཐོག་ལ་སྟེ་ཆུང་གཡུ་དཀར་གྱིས་རྒྱན་ཞིག་བཏགས་ནས་བྱེད་ཆང་གི་སྤྱུ་སྤུལ་ཡིན་བཟེ། ³³ཡོད་ན་མི་བསྟེ་
 བཟེ། ³⁴མེད་ན་མི་བསྟེད་བཟེ། ³⁵གཡམ་སྟེད་སྟོར་ནས་སྤྱན་རྒྱུ་བཞུགས། ³⁶སྤྱུག་རོག་མོའི་སྤྱུག་རྒྱུ་ཁྱུ་ལ་འདྲ་
 རེད། ³⁷སྤང་དཀར་ཅུ་མ་པའི་ཐོག་ལ་འབྲི་མར་མེར་པོས་རྒྱན་བཏགས་ནས། ³⁸བྱེད་ཆང་གི་སྤྱུ་སྤུལ་ཡིན་བཟེ།
³⁹ཡོད་ན་མི་བསྟེ་བཟེ། ⁴⁰མེད་ན་མི་བསྟེད་བཟེ།

¹ gnyen tshang tshang gis bshad rgyur ² khong dkar po chos la dad pa
 che zer ³ smug po gnyen la zhe brtse che zer ⁴ nag po dgra la zhe sdang
 che ⁵ khong la nor sa na lung gong ma na ⁶ nor stong nor dang lnga
 brgya yod ⁷ khyu na lha g.yag ka ba rwa ring yod ⁸ ban gyis btags pa
 g.yas na yod ⁹ bon gyis btags pa g.yon na yod ¹⁰ sngags pa'i dril chung
 ske na yod ¹¹ mi 'dzin zhang lha khyed tshang ster zer ¹² zhang khyed
 tshang gis len shes shig dang khyer shes byos ¹³ rta sa 'jag ru sum mdo

na ¹⁴ rta stong rta dang lnga brgya yod ¹⁵ khyu na lha rta rta mgrin
dmar po yod zer ¹⁶ ban gyis btags pa g.yas na yod ¹⁷ bon gyis btags pa
g.yon na yod ¹⁸ sngags pa'i dril chung ske na yod ¹⁹ mi 'dzin zhang lha
khyed tshang ster zer ²⁰ zhang khyed tshang gis len shes shig dang
khyer shes byos zer ²¹ lug sa spang ri thod dkar na ²² lug stong lug
dang lnga brgya yod zer ²³ khyu na smug ril dgo zhig yod zer ²⁴ ban
gyis btags pa g.yas na yod zer ²⁵ bon gyis btags pa g.yon na yod
²⁶ sngags kyi dril chung ske na yod ²⁷ mi 'dzin zhang lha khyed tshang
ster zer ²⁸ zhang khyed tshang gis len shes shig dang khyer shes byas
zer ²⁹ a zhang tshang gral g.yas gral g.yon gral gdong gral gsum red
³⁰ gral mgo skor nas pha khu bzhugs ³¹ seng dkar mo gangs nas 'gyings
'dra red ³² g.yang dkar lug gi tshang ra'i thog la gri chung g.yu dkar
gyis rgyan zhig btags nas khyed tshang gi sku skal yin zer ³³ yod na mi
bsri zer ³⁴ med na ma bskang zer ³⁵ gral sked skor nas spun zla bzhugs
³⁶ glag rog mo'i sug rkang gtub 'dra red ³⁷ sprang dkar rtsam pa'i thog
la 'bri mar ser pos rgyan btags nas ³⁸ khyed tshang gi sku skal yin zer
³⁹ yod na mi bsri zer ⁴⁰ med na ma bskang zer

¹ དང་པོ་ལྷ་ལྷ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཉེ་བྱས་པ་བདེན་གྱི། ² ལྷ་ཚངས་པ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་ལྷ་ཡུལ་དུ་བཀ་མར་བྱིན། ³ ལྷ་
སྐུ་བསྟན་པ་ཐོད་དཀར་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལ་མག་འཛོད་བྱས། ⁴ མང་ཆེན་གསུམ་ལ་བསྟ་བ་བྱས། ⁵ བར་སྐྱང་ཡངས་ལ་
སྒོ་བཀྲས། ⁶ མེད་གོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་ཁྲི་བརྒྱབ། ⁷ ལྷ་ཚངས་ལ་རབ་བརྟན་གྱིས་རྫོངས་བྱས། ⁸ མག་རྩ་པོ་ལྷུང་
འབྲུག་ཞིག་བསྟོན། ⁹ ཁོང་ཚང་ཡང་འདི་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར། ¹⁰ ཤ་ཁྲ་ཚོད་ལུ་གུ་ཅེད་ཅེད་བྱིས། ¹¹ མ་ཁྲ་མོ་
ཆོ་སྒྲག་མོ་འཁོར་འཁོར་བྱིས་ཟེར་གྱི།

¹ dang po lha klu gnyis kyis nye byas pa bden gi ² lha tshangs pa brgya
byin gyi bu mo klu yul du bag mar byin ³ klu sras bstan pa thod dkar
lha'i yul la mag 'bod byas ⁴ thang chen gsum la bsu ba byas ⁵ bar snang
yangs la sgo bkyags ⁶ seng ge brgyad kyis khri brgyab ⁷ glang chen sa
la rab brtan gyis rdzongs ba byas ⁸ mag rta pho khyung 'brug zhig
bskyon ⁹ khong tshang yang 'di dang mthun pa yin zer ¹⁰ sha khra
rgod lu gu rtsed rtsed byos ¹¹ ma khra mo tsho glag mo 'khor 'khor
byos zer gi

SUMMARY

This oration begins by praising and making offerings to various deities, holy personages, and to Buddhist sites in India. The orator further praises and makes offerings to such important religious figures as Brahma, the naga king, the founder of Buddhism and all the followers, and the guardian deities.

Secondly, he praises and makes offerings to the areas of Tibet, holy mountains, to the spiritual guardians of Buddhism, and to

Mount Jo mo glang ma (Chomolungma, Everest).

Thirdly, he praises and makes offerings to the Buddhas of the three ages,¹⁷⁵ to the lords of the Rig gsum mgon po,¹⁷⁶ to today's divine guests, to the family's guardian deities, and to individuals' deities.

Afterwards, the orator speaks about the auspicious date diviners selected for the wedding ceremony and continues by praising the *kha btags* – its materials, origin, and many uses. He states that he has been commanded by the *A zhang* to give the oration, even though he lacks eloquence. He continues praising and metaphorically describing the start of the wedding day with the sunrise, rhythmic songs, colorful *kha btags*, orderly rows of seats, plates of sweets and fruits, an ocean of barley liquor, entertainment with jokes and dances, and finally asks for forgiveness in case he made mistakes in the oration.

He then begins to describe the origin of marriage: "First, Princess Lha dbang tshe sgron of mighty Indra¹⁷⁷ was sent to the naga world to marry. The four great kings¹⁷⁸ were the matchmakers, and the custom of matchmakers originated then. Master Padmasambhava¹⁷⁹ washed the bride's face. Pad ma stong ldan¹⁸⁰ veiled her face and a holy white horse was given as *bag rta*. The Pleiades served as the bridesmaids and the sun, moon, and stars served as *bag bskyal*. Colorful rainbows provided *gos bskon* and gold and silver were provided as *rdzong ba*. Thus, these customs were formed and brought happy marriages." He also describes the beautiful mountains, landscape, and briefly describes how tents were created during the reign of King Khri ral pa can.¹⁸¹ The orator briefly re-emphasises the wedding day's auspiciousness and then describes the brideprice. He outlines the bride's family's requests of wealth – horses, yaks, sheep, mules, and so on – for each of the bride's important relatives, such as her uncle, father, and mother. Finally, the orator restates that the wedding on that particular day is derived from the original wedding as previously described, and encourages

¹⁷⁵ The Buddhas of the three ages, or Dus gsum sangs rgyas, are the Past Buddha (Mar me mdzad; Dipankara), Current Buddha (shAkya thub pa; Shakyamuni), and Future Buddha (Byams pa mgon po; Maitreya).

¹⁷⁶ Rigs gsum mgon po: 'Jam dpal dbyangs, Spyān ras gzigs, and Gsang bdag phyag na rdo rje.

¹⁷⁷ This princess is the daughter of Lha'i dbang bo brgya byin, whom locals believe is king of all the deities.

¹⁷⁸ The four great kings are Yul 'khor srung, 'Phags skyes po, Spyān mi bzang, and Rnam thos sras.

¹⁷⁹ Slob dpon pad ma 'byung gnas.

¹⁸⁰ A deity.

¹⁸¹ Khri ral pa can or Khri gtsug lde btsan, the forty-first Tibetan King (806-841).

the *A zhang* and *ma sru* to sing competitively.
Photo 172. Local women's hair decorations.



Photo 173. Local women wear felt hats during a wedding ceremony.



Photo 174. Local women's hair decoration – *ra mgo* and *ja la*.



Photo 175. *Ra mgo* decorate the hair.



Photo 176. *Ja la* are hung at the end of plaited hair.



Photo 177. This felt hat was popular five to ten years ago. It was rare for men to wear such hats in 2016. Women wear such hats at special local gatherings.



A ZHANG AND MA SRU COMPETITIVELY SING ANTIPHONAL SONGS

After the wedding oration, most people join in competitive singing. If many people are outside the tent or house, the *A zhang* and *ma sru* go outside to sing. This is the climax of the singing so many listeners gather.

After some time, when the *A zhang* appear drunk, an elder (usually not drinking) from among either the *gnyen tshang* or the *A zhang*, concludes the singing and drinking with a short speech. Afterward, the atmosphere calms. If the *A zhang* are outside the room, they are ushered back inside.

Singers stop singing at this point. Some go home, although most wait to watch the *A zhang*'s departure. The following songs are from Khe bhe, 'Jam dbyangs skyabs, and Lha sgron.

PRAISE SONGS

Song One

¹ དགུང་ཨ་སྒོང་བསྟོད་བསྟོད་ཆར་གྱིས་བསྟོད།

² ཆར་མ་འཛོམས་དུས་སུ་གླུ་གྱིས་བསྟོད།

¹ dgung a sngon bstod bstod char gyis bstod

² char ma 'dzoms dus su sprin gyis bstod

¹ The azure sky is praised, praised, praised by rain,

² When rain is lacking, praised by the clouds.

³ ཅང་པ་སྲུ་བསྟོད་བསྟོད་ཆར་གྱིས་བསྟོད།

⁴ ཆར་མ་འཛོམས་དུས་སུ་གླུ་གྱིས་བསྟོད།

³ nang pha khu bstod bstod chang gis bstod

⁴ chang ma 'dzoms dus su glu yis bstod

³ The father and paternal uncles are praised, praised, praised with liquor,

⁴ When liquor is lacking, praised by songs.

Song Two

¹ དགུང་ཨ་སྒོན་ཡག་གི་གུར་ཁང་ནས།

² དགུང་ཉི་ཟླ་ཡག་གི་འོད་ཟེར་བསྟོད།

¹ dgung a sngon yag gi gur khang nas

² dgung nyi zla yag gi 'od zer bstod

¹ In the dome of the azure sky,

² (Let me) praise the shiny rays of the sun and moon.

³ ནགས་ཙན་དན་ཡག་གི་རྩེ་མོ་ནས།

⁴ བྱ་ཁུ་བྱུག་ཡག་གི་གསུང་སྙན་བསྟོད།

³ nags tsan dan yag gi rtse mo nas

⁴ bya khu byug yag gi gsung snyan bstod

³ At the top of the sandalwood forest,

⁴ (Let me) praise the pleasant sound of cuckoo.

⁵ ཅན་མེས་རྒྱལ་ཡག་གི་བྱིམ་དཀྱིལ་ནས།

⁶ རིགས་མི་དམངས་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་སྦྲིལ་བསྟོད།

⁵ nang mes rgyal yag gi khyim dkyil nas

⁶ rigs mi dmangs yongs kyi mthun sgril bstod

⁵ In the center of the beautiful home of our motherland,

⁶ (Let me) praise the solidarity of all the races.

Song Three

¹ གྲལ་འགོ་སྐོར་ནས་གསེར་བྱི་བརྒྱལ།

² གསེར་བྱིའི་སྟེང་ལ་གསེར་ཡིག་ཕབ།

³ འདི་རིག་ནི་མང་མོད་འདོན་ནི་དགོན།

⁴ འདི་འདོན་མཁན་དག་ལ་ལྷན་གསེར་བྱི་ཡིན།

¹ gral 'go skor nas gser khri brgyag

² gser khri'i steng la gser yig phab

³ 'di rig ni mang mod 'don ni dkon

4 'di 'don mkhan dga' ldan gser khri yin

¹ (Let me) place a golden throne at the head of the row,

² Write golden letters on the golden throne,

³ Though many see them, few will read them,

⁴ The only reader is the holder of the Dga' ldan Monastery Golden Throne.¹⁸²

5 གལ་ཤེད་སྒོར་ནས་དངུལ་ཁྱི་བརྒྱལ།

6 དངུལ་ཁྱིའི་སྟེང་ལ་དངུལ་ཡིག་ཕབ།

7 འདི་རིག་ནི་མང་མོད་འདོན་ནི་དགོན།

8 འདི་འདོན་མཁན་གོང་མ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན།

5 gral rked skor nas dngul khri brgyag

6 dngul khri'i steng la dngul yig phab

7 'di rig ni mang mod 'don ni dkon

8 'di 'don mkhan gong ma rgyal po yin

5 (Let me) place a silver throne in the center of the row,

6 Write silver letters on the silver throne,

7 Though many see them, few will read them,

8 The only reader is the exalted king.

9 གལ་རྩ་སྒོར་ནས་དུང་ཁྱི་བརྒྱལ།

10 དུང་ཁྱིའི་སྟེང་ལ་དུང་ཡིག་ཕབ།

11 འདི་རིག་ནི་མང་མོད་འདོན་ནི་དགོན།

12 འདི་འདོན་མཁན་སྡེ་ཆེན་དཔོན་པོ་ཡིན།

13 gral rnga skor nas dung khri brgyag

14 dung khri'i steng la dung yig phab

15 'di rig ni mang mod 'don ni dka'

16 'di 'don mkhan sde chen dpon po yin

13 (Let me) place a white *dung* throne at the end of the row,

14 Write *dung* letters on the conch shell throne,

15 Though many see them, few will read them,

16 The only reader is the leader of the great village.

¹⁸² Dga' ldan gser khri is the title of a Dge lugs spiritual leader, the abbot of Dga' ldan Monastery.

Song Four

¹ ཁྱིམ་ཡ་རབས་ཚང་གི་ཡར་རྒྱུད་ན།
² གསེར་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་རང་བྱུང་ཡོད།
³ འདིར་བལྟ་ས་མཇུག་ས་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡོད།

¹ khyim ya rabs tshang gi yar rgyud na
² gser gyi mchod rten rang byung yod
³ 'dir blta sa mjal sa gnyis ka yod

¹ Above the respectable household,
² A golden stupa has arisen,
³ To both behold and worship.

⁴ ཁྱིམ་ཡ་རབས་ཚང་གི་ཞིང་ཐོག་ན།
⁵ རས་དཀར་དུག་མོ་གང་ཡག་ཡོད།
⁶ འདིར་བལྟ་ས་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡོད།

⁴ khyim ya rabs tshang gi zhing thog na
⁵ nas dkar drug mo gang yag yod
⁶ 'dir za rgyu bsogs rgyu gnyis ka yod

⁴ In the field of the respectable household,
⁵ Abundant fine white barley grows,
⁶ To both consume and to store.

⁷ ཁྱིམ་ཡ་རབས་ཚང་གི་སྒོ་ཁ་ན།
⁸ རྒྱགས་ཆེ་བའི་རྩ་ཕོ་གང་ཡག་ཡོད།
⁹ འདིར་ཞོན་རྒྱ་འདེད་རྒྱ་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡོད།

⁷ khyim ya rabs tshang gi sgo kha na
⁸ rgyugs che ba'i rta pho gang yag yod
⁹ 'dir zhon rgyu 'ded rgyu gnyis ka yod

⁷ At the door of the respectable household,
⁸ Many fast-running stallions live,
⁹ To both ride and to herd.

Song Five

¹ས་ཁ་རི་ཁ་སྟོད་འབྲོག་པའི་ས།
²འབྲོག་མི་རེའི་ལག་ན་རྟ་རེ་ཡོད།
³འབྲོག་རྒྱ་རྩལ་བདེ་བ་དེའི་དོན་རེད།

¹sa kha ri kha stod 'brog pa'i sa
²'brog mi re'i lag na rta re yod
³'brog rkya rtsal bde ba de'i don red

¹The highlands belong to herdsmen,
²Every herdsman owns a horse,
³And thus the herdsmen are skilled riders.

⁴ས་ཁ་རི་ཁ་རྟེན་རྩེ་བའི་ས།
⁵རྩེ་མི་རེའི་ལག་ན་མདའ་རེ་ཡོད།
⁶རྩེ་མཐེབ་རྩལ་ཆེ་བ་དེའི་དོན་རེད།

⁴sa kha ri kha rked rong ba'i sa
⁵rong mi re'i lag na mda' re yod
⁶rong mtheb rtsal che ba de'i don red

⁴The midlands belong to farmers,
⁵Every farmer carries a bow and arrow,
⁶And thus the farmers are skilled archers.

⁷ས་ཁ་རི་ཁ་སྟོད་རྒྱ་ཡི་ས།
⁸རྒྱ་མི་རེའི་ལག་ན་རྩིས་རེ་ཡོད།
⁹རྒྱ་རྩིས་ལ་མཁས་པ་དེའི་དོན་རེད།

⁷sa kha ri kha smad rgya yi sa
⁸rgya mi re'i lag na rtsis re yod
⁹rgya rtsis la mkhas pa de'i don red

⁷The lowlands belong to the Chinese,
⁸Every Chinese has an abacus,
⁹And thus the Chinese are skilled mathematicians.

Song Six

¹ དགུང་ཨ་སྒོན་སྐུ་བསོད་ཆེན་ཅི་རེད།
² འབྲུག་སྤྱིན་གྱི་ནང་ན་སྐག་སྐག་སྐག།
³ ཆར་བར་སྒྲང་ཁམས་ན་སྟོབས་སྟོབས་སྟོབས།

¹ dgung a sngon sku bsod che ni red
² 'brug sprin gyi nang na skag skag skag
³ char bar snang khams na stobs stobs stobs

¹ The azure sky is highly blessed,
² Dragons thunder in the clouds,
³ Heavy rain falls from the sky.

¹ རྩ་ཁ་ཡག་སྐུ་བསོད་ཆེན་ཅི་རེད།
² འབྲོང་ན་ཡི་ནང་ན་འཛོལ་ལོ།
³ འབྲོང་འབྲོང་མོས་དྲུབ་བྱང་དི་རི་རི།

¹ rdza khra yag sku bsod che ni red
² 'brong na yi nang na 'jo lo lo
³ 'brong 'brong mos ngur byang di ri ri

¹ The multicolored mountains are richly blessed,
² Wild yaks enjoy the marshy grass,
³ Both male and female moo loudly.

⁴ ནང་ཨ་ཁུ་སྐུ་བསོད་ཆེན་ཅི་རེད།
⁵ ཆར་དཀར་ཡོལ་ནང་ན་ལྷོམ་ལྷོམ་ལྷོམ།
⁶ ནང་སྐུ་བ་གཤམ་ན་སིང་སིང་སིང།

⁴ nang pha khu sku bsod che ni red
⁵ chang dkar yol nang na ltem ltem ltem
⁶ nang glu ba gral na sing sing sing

⁴ The elders are richly blessed,
⁵ The liquor ripples in bowls,
⁶ Singers are boisterous in the rows of seating.

Song Seven

¹ངས་མཐེང་སྤྱག་སྤྱི་ཕུང་ཚུལ་བཤད།
²འདིའི་ཕུག་ཆེན་དབུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་ལ་འཐེན།
³སྟོད་དབུས་གཙང་བླ་མས་ཆོས་གཡང་བྱིན།
⁴བོད་ཆོས་བསོད་ཆེ་བ་དེའི་དོན་རེད།

¹ngas mthing smug sbra yi phub tshul bshad
²'di'i phug chen dbus gtsang yul la 'then
³stod dbus gtsang bla mas chos g.yang byin
⁴bod chos bsod che ba de'i don red

¹I will describe the process of pitching a black tent,
²Its innermost part is pulled toward Dbus gtsang,
³Blessed with spiritual wealth by the *bla ma* of Dbus gtsang, the
Upper Land,
⁴And thus Tibetans are blessed with Dharma.

⁵འདིའི་དབྱིས་ཆོན་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་ལ་འཐེན།
⁶སྟོད་རྒྱ་ནག་རྒྱ་ཡིས་ཆོད་གཡང་བྱིན།
⁷བོད་ཆོད་ལྷ་ཆེ་བ་དེའི་དོན་རེད།

⁵'di'i dkyil chon rgya nag yul la 'then
⁶smad rgya nag rgya yis tshong g.yang byin
⁷bod tshong lha che ba de'i don red

⁵Its central tent-rope is pulled toward China,
⁶Blessed with trade by the people of China, the Lower Land,
⁷And thus Tibetans are skilled in trade.

⁸འདིའི་སྒོ་ཆོན་བོད་ཡུལ་ཁམས་སུ་འཐེན།
⁹བོད་དམངས་ཀྱི་དཔོན་པོས་ཁ་གཡང་བོས།
¹⁰བོད་རྒྱུང་རྟ་དར་བ་དེའི་དོན་རེད།

⁸'di'i sgo chon bod yul khams su 'then
⁹bod dmangs kyi dpon pos kha g.yang bos
¹⁰bod rlung rta dar ba de'i don red

- ⁸ Its door tent-rope is pulled toward Tibet,
⁹ The leaders of the Tibetan people sought good fortune,
¹⁰ And thus Tibetans are fortunate.

RTEN 'BREL (FORTUNE)

Song One

- ¹ ཉིད་དབུས་གཙང་འདུ་ཁང་ན་ཅིང་བཞུགས།
² མགོ་གསེར་ཐོག་སེར་པོ་དེ་ལོ་སྤྲད།
³ འདི་འགྲུབ་པའི་འགྲུབ་སྟོན་དེ་རིང་རེད།

- ¹ stod dbus gtsang 'du khang na ning bzhengs
² mgo gser thog ser po da lo sprad
³ 'di 'grub pa'i 'grub ston de ring red

- ¹ Last year, an assembly hall was built in Dbus gtsang, the Upper Land,
² The golden roof ornament was installed this year,
³ We celebrate this achievement today.

- ⁴ བོད་ཁ་བས་གཉེན་རྟགས་ན་ཅིང་བཞུགས།
⁵ རྟགས་དང་སྟོན་མོ་དེ་ལོ་བཤད།
⁶ འདི་འགྲུབ་པའི་འགྲུབ་སྟོན་དེ་རིང་རེད།

- ⁴ bod kha bas gnye rtags na ning brgyab
⁵ rtags dang ston mo da lo bshad
⁶ 'di 'grub pa'i 'grub ston de ring red

- ⁴ Last year, the marriage engagement was approved,
⁵ The wedding ceremony was set for this year,
⁶ We celebrate this achievement today.

Song Two

- ¹ དགུང་སྟོན་གནམ་གྱི་འབྲུག་ཆུང་གཅིག།
² བར་སྤྲད་ཁམས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་ཆེན་གཉིས།
³ འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཕྲར་ལམ་གཅིག་པ་འདི།
⁴ ཆར་བསིལ་མ་འབབ་པའི་རྟོན་འབྲེལ་རེད།

¹ dgung sngon gnam gyi 'brug chung gcig
² bar snang khams kyi khyung chen gnyis
³ 'di gnyis kyi 'phur lam gcig pa 'di
⁴ char bsil ma 'bab pa'i rten 'brel red

¹ First, the dragon in the azure sky,
² Second, the great garuda in space,
³ The two flying in the same direction,
⁴ Signify that soft rain will fall.

⁵ གངས་དཀར་པོའི་བྱུང་གྱི་སེང་གེ་གཅིག།
⁶ རྣམས་ཚན་དན་ཁུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ལྷ་གཉིས།
⁷ འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མཆོང་ལམ་གཅིག་པ་འདི།
⁸ དག་ནས་པོ་གཞོན་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།

⁵ gangs dkar po'i zur gyi seng ge gcig
⁶ nags tsan dan khugs kyi rgya stag gnyis
⁷ 'di gnyis kyi mchong lam gcig pa 'di
⁸ dgra nag po gnon pa'i rten 'brel red

⁵ First, the snow lion in the snow mountains,
⁶ Second, the tigress in the sandalwood forest,
⁷ The two leaping in the same direction,
⁸ Signify that dark enemies will be conquered.

⁹ བྱིས་བཟང་པོ་ཞང་བཟང་དཀར་པོ་གཅིག།
¹⁰ གཉེན་འཛིན་པའི་གཉེན་ཆང་སྤྲུག་པོ་གཉིས།
¹¹ འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་གཉེན་ཞིག་སྤྲིག་པ་འདི།
¹² སྤྱད་ཏི་མ་འཆར་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།

⁹ khyim bzang po zhang bzang dkar po gcig
¹⁰ gnyen 'dzin pa'i gnyen tshang smug po gnyis
¹¹ 'di gnyis kyis gnyen zhig sgrig pa 'di
¹² skyid nyi ma 'char ba'i rten 'brel red

⁹ First, good *A zhang* of a good family,
¹⁰ Second, the honorable marriage partner's family,
¹¹ Marriage between these two,
¹² Signify that the sun of happiness will rise.

Song Three

¹ རྟེན་སྐྱུག་རྩུང་སྐྱེས་ས་ཨ་འབྲུག་ཡུལ།
² གཟུགས་སྐྱུ་ལག་དོམ་ས་སུམ་ལུང་དབུས།
³ རྟེན་དམུལ་བར་མ་འཕེན་སྒྲ་མ་ཆོ།
⁴ མགོ་རུ་འབུམ་ལྗེས་མེར་སྒྲིང་རེ་རྗེ།

¹ drel smug chung skyes sa a 'brug yul
² gzugs lhu lag ngom sa sum lung dbus
³ drel dmyal bar ma 'phen bla ma tsho
⁴ mgo hu 'bum ldem mer snying re rje

¹ A 'brug yul¹⁸³ is where dark brown mules are bred,
² The confluence of three valleys is where they display their strong
build,
³ May the *bla ma* prevent mules from going to Hell,
⁴ How pitiful they are when they shake their heads.

⁵ མཛོ་ཁུང་དཀར་སྐྱེས་ས་གླིང་དཀར་སྐྱེད།
⁶ ཇ་ལན་ཆེན་འགེལ་ས་ཤར་བའི་ལག།
⁷ མཛོ་སུམ་ལག་མ་སྐྱོག་ཤར་བ་ཆོ།
⁸ མགོ་རུ་ཁ་ལྗེས་མེར་སྒྲིང་རེ་རྗེ།

⁵ mdzo khyung dkar skyes sa gling dkar stod
⁶ ja lan chen 'gel sa shar ba'i lag
⁷ mdzo sum lag ma sgrog shar ba tsho
⁸ mgo rwa kha ldem mer snying re rje

⁵ White Ling, the Upper Land, is where white *mdzo*¹⁸⁴ are bred,
⁶ Shar ba¹⁸⁵ is where they carry tea bricks from,
⁷ May Shar ba not chain the *mdzo*'s legs,
⁸ How pitiful they are when they shake their horns.

⁹ སྐན་བུ་མོ་སྐྱེས་ས་པ་མའི་རྩིབ།
¹⁰ གཡུ་བྱུ་རུ་འདོགས་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ།

¹⁸³ A = A mdo and 'brug = 'Brug yul, a farming area in east A mdo.

¹⁸⁴ A yak-cow hybrid.

¹⁸⁵ Literally = 'eastern people' and refers to tea traders originally from Zung chu located in modern Rnga ba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture.

¹¹ ཆོག་སྤྱན་མོ་མ་བཤད་གནས་བདག་ཚོ།

¹² མགོ་གཡུ་བྱར་ལྗེ་མ་མེར་སྤྱོད་རེ་རྩེ།

⁹ sman bu mo skyes sa pha ma'i rtsib

¹⁰ g.yu byu ru 'dogs sa gnas kyi yul

¹¹ tshig sdug mo ma bshad gnas bdag tsho

¹² mgo g.yu byur ldem mer snying re rje

⁹ Mothers are whom daughters are raised by,

¹⁰ The groom's home is where they ornament with turquoise and coral,

¹¹ May the groom's relatives not speak unpleasantly,

¹² How pitiful they are when they shake their ornamented heads.

Song Four

¹ མཛོ་བྱང་དཀར་གསེར་གྱི་རུ་བྱར་ཅན།

² ར་ལན་ཆེན་བཀལ་ནས་དབྱས་ལ་སོང་།

³ སྟོད་དབྱས་ཡུལ་བར་ནས་བྱིར་བཞུགས།

⁴ ཆེ་བྱ་ཚོ་མོ་འི་མིག་མཐར་མཆིམ་ལོང་།

⁵ ལོང་མི་དགོས་ཚོ་མོ་སེམས་ཆུང་མ།

⁶ མཛོ་བྱང་དཀར་རང་གི་སྟོན་ལམ་རེད།

¹ mdzo khyung dkar gser gyi ru thur can

² ja lan chen bkal nas dbus la song

³ stod dbus yul bar nas phyir blta byas

⁴ rge'u rgo mo'i mig mthar mchi ma 'khor

⁵ 'khor mi dgos rgo mo sems chung ma

⁶ mdzo khyung dkar rang gi smon lam red

¹ The white *mdzo* with golden horns,

² Carried tea bricks to Dbus,

³ Looked back at its calves on the way to Dbus,

⁴ The calves' eyes brimmed with tears,

⁵ Do not shed tears, strongly emotional calves,

⁶ The departure is the white *mdzo*'s aspiration.

⁷ སྤྱན་བུ་མོ་དྲུག་གི་མགོ་རྒྱན་ཅན།

⁸ དྲུག་གོར་མོ་བཏགས་ནས་གནས་ལ་བསྐྱལ།

⁹སྒྲིམ་བུ་ནས་ཕྱིར་བཏང་བྱས།
¹⁰ཡུལ་པ་མའི་མིག་མཐར་མཆི་མ་འཁོར།
¹¹འཁོར་མི་དགོས་མ་ལོ་སེམས་རྒྱུང་མ།
¹²འདི་དང་མ་སྲིད་པའི་དར་ལྷགས་རེད།

⁷ sman bu mo dung gi mgo rgyan can
⁸ dung gor mo btags nas gnas la bskyal
⁹ sgo phyi khyim bar nas phyir blta byas
¹⁰ yul pha ma'i mig mthar mchi ma 'khor
¹¹ 'khor mi dgos ma lo sems chung ma
¹² 'di deng ma srid pa'i dar lugs red

⁷ The girl with *dung* ornaments on her head,
⁸ Was escorted to the groom's family wearing round *dung*,
⁹ Looked back at the door of her natal family,
¹⁰ Her mother's eyes brimmed with tears,
¹¹ Do not shed tears, strongly emotional mother,
¹² This has long been a worldly custom.

Song Five

¹བན་དད་པ་ཅན་པོ་དབུས་ལ་འགོ།
²ལྷ་རྩེ་བོ་ཤར་དབུས་ན་ཡོད།
³སྐྱུ་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་ཅན་ཞིག་དེ་ན་ཡོད།

¹ ban dad pa can po dbus la 'gro
² lha jo bo shAkya dbus na yod
³ sku byin rlabs can zhig de na yod

¹ The devout monk goes to Dbus,
² Where the noble Shakyamuni is,
³ Where the image that gives blessings is.

⁴བྱ་རིག་པ་ཅན་པོ་རྒྱ་ལ་འགོ།
⁵རྒྱ་རིན་ཆེན་ཆོང་རྒྱ་ན་ཡོད།
⁶ཆོང་ཁེ་བཟང་ལེན་རྒྱ་དེ་ན་ཡོད།

⁴ bu rig pa can po rgya la 'gro
⁵ rgyu rin chen tshong ra rgya na yod

⁶ tshong khe bzang len rgyu de na yod

⁴ The intelligent man goes to China,

⁵ Where valuable market goods are,

⁶ Where the profit of trade is.

⁷ ལྷན་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཅན་པོ་གནས་ལ་འགྲོ།

⁸ གས་རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པ་མ་ཡུལ་ན་ཡོད།།

⁹ སྤྱིད་མིག་གིས་རིག་ཀྱི་དེ་ན་ཡོད།།

⁷ sman shes rgya can po gnas la 'gro

⁸ rgas drin chen pha ma yul na yod

⁹ skyid mig gis rig rgyu de na yod

⁷ The intelligent girl goes to her groom's home,

⁸ Where the old loving parents are,

⁹ Where happiness is visible.

Song Six

¹ ངས་ཐང་དཀར་ཆོད་ལ་སྒྲོ་བྲལ་བཞག།

² སྒོ་མདའ་མོ་སྟོང་དང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་བཞག།

³ འདི་གླིང་གེ་སར་བདུད་ལ་ཕེབས་དུས་དགོས།།

¹ ngas thang dkar rgod la sgro khral bzhag

² sgro mda' mo stong dang dgu brgya bzhag

³ 'di gling ge sar bdud la phebs dus dgos

¹ I levied taxes of feathers from the white vultures,

² Feathers for 1,900 arrows,

³ Are required when Ge sar comes to conquer demons.

⁴ ངས་ཆེར་མོ་ལྷག་ལ་ཤ་བྲལ་བཞག།

⁵ ཤ་རྒྱུ་མ་སྟོང་དང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་བཞག།

⁶ འདི་འབྲུག་མོ་བག་མར་སྤྱེལ་དུས་དགོས།།

⁴ ngas tsher mo lug la sha khral bzhag

⁵ sha rgya ma stong dang dgu brgya bzhag

⁶ 'di 'brug mo bag mar skyel dus dgos

- 4 I levied taxes of meat from ewes,
 5 Meat of 1,900 kilos,
 6 Is required when 'Brug mo¹⁸⁶ marries.

Song Seven

- ¹བན་སེར་མོ་དབུས་འགོ་གནམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱུང་།
²དབུས་འགོ་འགོ་གནམ་གྱིས་གང་གང་བསྐྱུང་།
³བན་ཆོས་མེད་འགོ་མཁན་གནམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱུང་།

- ¹ban ser mo dbus 'gro gnam gyis bsrung
²dbus 'gro 'gro gnam gyis gang gang bsrung
³ban chos med 'gro mkhan gnam gyis bsrung

- ¹May monks who go to Dbus be protected by Heaven,
³How could they all be protected by Heaven?
⁴May the ones that lack Buddhist knowledge be protected by Heaven.

- ⁵སྐུ་ཤ་ར་ཇག་འགོ་གནམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱུང་།
⁶ཇག་འགོ་འགོ་གནམ་གྱིས་གང་གང་བསྐྱུང་།
⁷ཕོ་རྒྱ་མེད་འགོ་མཁན་གནམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱུང་།

- ⁵stag sha ra jag 'gro gnam gyis bsrung
⁶jag 'gro 'gro gnam gyis gang gang bsrung
⁷pho rgyu med 'gro mkhan gnam gyis bsrung

- ⁵May youths who become bandits be protected by Heaven,
⁶How could they all be protected by Heaven?
⁷May the ones lacking wealth be protected.

- ⁵སྐྱུང་བུ་མོ་གནས་འགོ་གནམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱུང་།
⁶གནས་འགོ་འགོ་གནམ་གྱིས་གང་གང་བསྐྱུང་།
⁷སྐྱུང་མ་མེད་འགོ་མཁན་གནམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱུང་།

- ⁵sman bu mo gnas 'gro gnam gyis bsrung
⁶gnas 'gro 'gro gnam gyis gang gang bsrung
⁷sman ma med 'gro mkhan gnam gyis bsrung

¹⁸⁶ King Ge sar's wife.

- 5 May girls who go to the groom's home be protected by Heaven,
 6 How could they all be protected by Heaven?
 7 May those without mothers be protected by Heaven.

Song Eight

- 1 ལྷོད་དབུས་གཙང་འདུའང་བྱམས་འོག་ན།
 2 བན་མེར་མོ་དག་བརྒྱ་དགུ་སྟོང་ཡོད།
 3 ཆོས་འདི་ནས་མི་གསུང་གང་ནས་གསུང་།

- 1 stod dbus gtsang 'du khang khyams 'og na
 2 ban ser mo dgu brgya dgu stong yod
 3 chos 'di nas mi gsung gang nas gsung

- 1 On the porch (below the eaves) of an assembly hall in Dbus gtsang,
 the Upper Land,
 2 Are 9,900 monks,
 3 Where else are teachings given if not there?

- 4 ལྷོད་ཁིས་ཆེན་ལབ་རྩེ་འོག་ན།
 5 ལྷག་ཤར་དག་བརྒྱ་དགུ་སྟོང་ཡོད།
 6 དཔའ་འདི་ནས་མི་ངོམ་གང་ནས་ངོམ།

- 4 stod khis chen lab rtse'i thong 'og na
 5 stag sha ra dgu brgya dgu stong yod
 6 dpa' 'di nas mi ngom gang nas ngom

- 4 Below the *lab rtse* of the mountain peak of the Upper Land,
 5 Are 9,900 youths,
 6 Where else are heroes seated if not there?

- 7 ལྷ་མཐོང་སྤུག་སྤུ་བཞིའི་ཆོན་འོག་ན།
 8 ལྷན་སྤུ་མོ་དག་བརྒྱ་དགུ་སྟོང་ཡོད།
 9 ལྷ་འདི་ནས་མི་ལེན་གང་ནས་ལེན།

- 7 sbra mthing smug gru bzhi'i chon 'og na
 8 sman sru mo dgu brgya dgu stong yod
 9 glu 'di nas mi len gang nas len

- ⁷ Below the tent-rope of a black tent,
⁸ Are 9,900 women,
⁹ Where else are songs sung if not there?

Song Nine

- ¹ དགུང་ཨ་སྒོན་སྒྱིད་ལ་མར་འཁོར་ཡིན།
² ས་དོག་མོ་སྒྱིད་ལ་ཡར་འཁོར་ཡིན།
³ སྒྱིད་འཛོམས་པ་འཛོམས་གླིང་ཉི་མ་ཡིན།
⁴ སྒྱིད་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

- ¹ dgung a sngon skyid la mar 'khor yin
² sa dog mo skyid la yar 'khor yin
³ skyid 'dzoms pa 'dzam gling nyi ma yin
⁴ skyid yang yang 'dzoms pa'i smon lam 'debs

- ¹ The happy sky is downward,
² The happy earth is upward,
³ The bright sun bears abundant happiness,
⁴ May happiness come again and again.

- ⁵ སྤྱ་མཐིང་སྤུག་སྒྱིད་ལ་མར་འཁོར་ཡིན།
⁶ གདན་གུ་བཞི་སྒྱིད་ལ་ཡར་འཁོར་ཡིན།
⁷ སྒྱིད་འཛོམས་པ་དེ་རིང་ཨ་ཞང་ཡིན།
⁸ སྒྱིད་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

- ⁵ sbra mthing smug skyid la mar 'khor yin
⁶ gdan gru bzhi skyid la yar 'khor yin
⁷ skyid 'dzoms pa de ring a zhang yin
⁸ skyid yang yang 'dzoms pa'i smon lam 'debs

- ⁵ The happy dark brown tent looks downward,
⁶ The happy square cushion looks upward,
⁷ The *A zhang* bear abundant happiness,
⁸ May happiness come again and again.

Song Ten

- ¹ གསེར་དང་བྱེ་མ་མཉམ་སྒྲིས་རེད།

² ལྷ་བཀར་བ་དབྱར་གྱི་ཆར་ཕྱེད།

¹ gser dang bye ma mnyam skyes red

² skya bkar ba dbyar gyi char chu red

¹ The gold and sand arise together,

² And are separated by the summer rainwater.

³ གོ་དང་སྟེ་མ་མཉམ་སྟེས་རེད།

⁴ ལྷ་བཀར་བ་སྟོན་གསུམ་བསིལ་སྤྱང་རེད།

³ gro dang snye ma mnyam skyes red

⁴ skya bkar ba ston gsum bsil rlung red

³ Wheat and grain ears arise together,

⁴ And are separated by autumn's breeze.

⁵ མིང་ཕྱང་སྟེང་ཕྱང་མཉམ་སྟེས་རེད།

⁶ ལྷ་བཀར་བ་སྟོན་པའི་ཚོང་ཆེན་རེད།

⁵ ming chung sring chung mnyam skyes red

⁶ skya bkar ba srid pa'i tshong chen red

⁵ Brothers and sisters are born together,

⁶ And are separated by marriage exchanges.

Song Eleven

¹ སྟོན་ཟླ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཐའ་མ་ནས།

² བྱེ་མ་ལེབ་ཅེ་བད་ཀྱིས་བསད།

³ གཤོག་ཐོག་འབུམ་གྱིས་ལྟ་མོར་བལྟས།

⁴ སྟེང་བ་ཐང་དཀར་ཚོད་ལ་བཞག།

¹ ston zla gsum gyi mtha' ma nas

² phye ma leb tse bad kyis bsad

³ gshog thog 'bum gyis ltad mor bltas

⁴ smeng ba thang dkar rgod la bzhag

¹ At the end of autumn's three months,

² Butterflies are killed by frost,

3 Thousands of birds watch them die,
4 While white vultures abide in sorrow.

5 འཇིག་རྟེན་ཆགས་པའི་སྐྱེ་བ་ནས།
6 བ་ཕྱག་པོའི་བུ་མོ་གནས་ལ་སོང་།
7 རྒྱ་ནག་མང་པོས་ལྟད་མོར་བལྟས།
8 སྤང་བ་བྲིན་ཆེན་པ་མར་བཞག།

5 'jig rten chags pa'i thog ma nas
6 pha phyug po'i bu mo gnas la song
7 nang na zla mang pos ltad mor bltas
8 smeng ba drin chen pha mar bzhag

5 Since the world was formed,
6 Rich fathers' daughters have married,
7 Many youths watched the celebration,
8 While the parents abide in sorrow.

Song Twelve

1 སེར་པོ་གསེར་གྱི་ཁྲི་སྐྱོག་ནས།
2 ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན་གྱི་བླ་མ་བཞུགས།
3 འདི་ཡང་ཡང་བཞུགས་པའི་སྐྱོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

1 ser po gser gyi khri thog nas
2 yon tan can gyi bla ma bzhugs
3 'di yang yang bzhugs pa'i smon lam 'debs

1 On the yellow golden throne,
2 Sits the wise *bla ma*,
3 May he sit there again and again.

4 སྐྱོན་ལམ་ཅན་གྱི་རྟེན་སྐྱོག་ནས།
5 ལྷེ་མ་ལྟར་ཅན་གྱི་བུ་ཚ་སྤྱིད།
6 འདི་ཡང་ཡང་སྤྱིད་པའི་སྐྱོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

4 gom lag can gyi rta thog nas
5 ldem myur can gyi bu tsha skyid
6 'di yang yang skyid pa'i smon lam 'debs

⁴ On the excellent pacing horse,
⁵ The athletic boy enjoys himself,
⁶ May he enjoy again and again.

⁷ རི་མོ་ཅན་གྱི་གོས་འོག་ནས།
⁸ རིན་ཐང་ཅན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་སྟིད།
⁹ འདི་ཡང་ཡང་སྟིད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཞིག་ལེན།

⁷ ri mo can gyi gos 'og nas
⁸ rin thang can gyi bu mo skyid
⁹ 'di yang yang skyid pa'i glu zhig len

⁷ In patterned clothing,
⁸ The precious girl enjoys herself,
⁹ I sing a song hoping she enjoys again and again.

Song Thirteen

¹ དཔའ་བོ་མདུང་བརྟུང་རི་ན་ཡོད།
² དཔའ་སྐད་ཚོ་དྲུག་སྒྲིང་ལ་གྲགས།
³ དཔོན་ཆེན་པོས་གོ་ན་ལ་སྟུན།

¹ dpa' bo mdung bzung ri na yod
² dpa' skad tsho drug gling la grags
³ dpon chen pos go na rna la snyan

¹ The spear-bearing hero lives in the mountains,
² His heroic reputation is widespread among all the tribes (the six tribes),
³ And is pleasant to the ears of great leaders.

⁴ སྤྲན་བཟང་མོ་གནས་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ན་ཡོད།
⁵ འདིའི་བཟང་ངན་བྱིམ་མཆོས་བར་ལ་གྲགས།
⁶ འདི་པ་ཁས་གོ་ན་སེམས་རེ་སྟིད།

⁴ sman bzang mo gnas yul khams na yod
⁵ 'di'i bzang ngan khyim mtshes bar la grags
⁶ drin pha mas go na sems re skyid

- 4 The good girl lives in the groom's home,
 5 Whether she is a good or bad bride is widely known among her neighbors,
 6 And is pleasant to the ears of her parents.

Song Fourteen

1 ཏྲ་འདྲོ་བ་དགོས་དགོས་ཤ་ཞིག་དགོས།
 2 ཤ་གུ་གུ་ཡི་ཚོད་ཅིག་གུག་ནས་དགོས།
 3 རྒྱལ་ལྷག་མ་མེད་རུང་ཉམས་རེ་དགའ།

1 rta 'do ba dgos dgos sha zhig dgos
 2 sha gru gu'i tshod cig grug nas dgos
 3 rgyug lhag ma med rung nyams re dga'

- 1 It is essential for horses to have a strong body,
 2 Their rumps should have strong muscles as large as balls of yarn,
 3 Which gives joy, even though they are not particularly fast.

4 རྒྱལ་ཤ་ར་དགོས་དགོས་སྤྱན་ཞིག་དགོས།
 5 སྤྱན་རྒྱལ་ལྷག་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཕྱི་བ་ནས་དགོས།
 6 དཔལ་ལྷག་མ་མེད་རུང་ཉམས་རེ་དགའ།

4 stag sha ra dgos dgos spun zhig dgos
 5 spun stag phrug 'dra zhig rtsib nas dgos
 6 dpa' lhag ma med rung nyams re dga'

- 4 It is essential for a young man to have a brother,
 5 He requires a brother like a tiger cub beside him,
 6 Which gives joy, even though his brother is not particularly brave.

7 སྤྱན་བུ་མོ་ར་དགོས་དགོས་མ་ཞིག་དགོས།
 8 མ་འྲིན་མོ་ཆེ་ཞིག་ཕྱི་བ་ནས་དགོས།
 9 གཡུག་ལྷག་མ་མེད་རུང་ཉམས་རེ་དགའ།

7 sman bu mor dgos dgos ma zhig dgos
 8 ma drin mo che zhig rtsib nas dgos
 9 g.yug lhag ma med rung nyams re dga'

- 7 It is essential for a girl to have a mother,

⁸ She requires a loving mother beside her,

⁹ Which gives joy, even though her mother is not particularly hard working.

Song Fifteen

¹བན་མེར་མོ་དབུས་སུ་འགོ་ནི་ཚོ།

²དབུས་ཕར་འགོ་སྒྲ་ཡང་ཚུར་ཡོང་དགལ།

³ཚུར་ཡོང་སྒྲ་ན་ཚེས་ཞིག་དགོས།

⁴ཚེས་མེད་ན་ངང་བ་མེར་པོ་འདྲ།

⁵མེར་ཙོག་གེ་ཙོག་གེར་གང་ལ་འགོ།

¹ban ser mo dbus su 'gro ni tsho

²dbus phar 'gro sla yang tshur yong dka'

³tshur yong sngun na chos shig dgos

⁴chos med na ngang ba ser po 'dra

⁵ser tsog ge tsog ger gang la 'gro

¹Monks who go to Dbus,

²Go easily but return with difficulty,

³Returning requires spiritual achievement,

⁴Lacking achievement makes one no different than a yellow waterfowl.

⁵Where would a yellow waterfowl go?

⁶སྐྱ་ཤར་ཇག་ལ་འགོ་ནི་ཚོ།

⁷ཇག་ཕར་འགོ་སྒྲ་མོད་ཚུར་ཡོང་དགལ།

⁸ཚུར་ཡོང་སྒྲ་ན་རྒྱ་ཞིག་དགོས།

⁹རྒྱ་མེད་ན་ཕོ་རོག་ནག་ཚུང་འདྲ།

¹⁰ནག་ཙོག་གེ་ཙོག་གེར་གང་ལ་འགོ།

⁶stag sha ra jag la 'gro ni tsho

⁷jag phar 'gro sla mod tshur yong dka'

⁸tshur yong sngun na rgyu zhig dgos

⁹rgyu med na pho rog nag chung 'dra

¹⁰nag tsog ge tsog ger gang la 'gro

⁶The youths who go for banditry,

⁷Go easily but return with difficulty,

- 8 Returning requires wealth,
 9 Lacking wealth makes one no different than a black crow.
 10 Where would a black crow go?

11 ལྷན་བུ་མོ་གནས་ལ་འགོ་ནི་ཚོ།
 12 གནས་པར་འགོ་སྤྲོ་ཡང་ཚུར་ཡོང་དགལ།
 13 ཚུར་ཡོང་སྤྲོ་ན་ཚུ་ཞིག་དགོས།
 14 ཚུ་མེད་ན་སྤྲོ་ཀ་ཁ་མོ་འདྲ།
 15 ཁ་ཚོག་གེ་ཚོག་གེར་གང་ལ་འགོ།

11 sman bu mo gnas la 'gro ni tsho
 12 gnas phar 'gro sla yang tshur yong dka'
 13 tshur yong sngun na rgyu zhig dgos
 14 rgyu med na skya ka khra mo 'drag
 15 khra cog ge cog ger gang la 'gro

- 11 Girls who go to a groom's home,
 12 Go easily but return with difficulty,
 13 Returning requires wealth,
 14 Lacking wealth makes one no different than a magpie.
 15 Where would a magpie go?

Song Sixteen

1 ངང་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མཚོ་བ་བསྐྱོར།
 2 ཕ་བླ་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྩམ་ཤེས་རེད།
 3 ཚོས་ཆད་སྟག་ཤོར་བའི་རྩམ་སྤྲིན་རེད།

1 ngang ba gnyis kyis mtsho kha bskor
 2 pha bla ma gnyis kyi rnam shes red
 3 chos chad lhag shor ba'i rnam smin red

- 1 Two waterfowls that circled the lake,
 2 Are the souls of two *bla ma*,
 3 The result of insufficient practice of the Dharma.

4 བྱ་ཕོ་ལོག་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲོ་མཐའ་བསྐྱོར།
 5 སྟག་ཤར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྩམ་ཤེས་རེད།
 6 བྱ་ཐག་ལ་མོང་བའི་རྩམ་སྤྲིན་རེད།

⁴ bya pho rog gnyis kyis sbra mtha' skor
⁵ stag sha ra gnyis kyi rnam shes red
⁶ bu jag la song ba'i rnam smin red

⁴ Two crows that circled the black tent,
⁵ Are the souls of two youths,
⁶ The result of banditry.

⁷ བྱ་ཁུ་བྱུག་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ནགས་མཐའ་བསྐྱོར།
⁸ སྐྱེན་བུ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཤེས་རེད།
⁹ ཟས་ཡག་བཙོག་ཤོར་བའི་རྣམ་སྤྲིན་རེད།

⁷ bya khu byug gnyis kyis nags mtha' bskor
⁸ sman bu mo gnyis kyi rnam shes red
⁹ zas yag btsog shor ba'i rnam smin red

⁷ Two cuckoos that circled the forest,
⁸ Are the souls of two girls,
⁹ The result of preparing food poorly.

Song Seventeen

¹ དགུང་ཨ་སྒོན་སྐྱབས་ཀ་བཀར་མཚམས་ནས།
² ང་ད་མོངས་ཟེར་བའི་ཕ་ཞིག་དགོས།
³ ཕ་མེད་ན་ཨ་ཁུ་ཕ་འདྲ་དགོས།
⁴ འདི་ཕ་སྐྱེན་ཨ་ཁུ་ཡོད་རབས་མེད།

¹ dgung a sngon srubs ka bkar mtshams nas
² nga da longs zer ba'i pha zhig dgos
³ pha med na a khu pha 'dra dgos
⁴ 'di pha spun a khu yod rabs med

¹ As the azure sky lights up,
² A father who urges me to get up is essential,
³ If such a father is lacking, a father-like uncle is essential,
⁴ However, no such father-like uncle exists.

⁵ ལྟོགས་སྐྱོམ་པས་དེད་ནས་ཡོད་དུས་ན།
⁶ ང་འདི་འཁྲུང་ཟེར་བའི་ཕ་ཞིག་དགོས།

7 མ་མེད་ན་སྤྱང་མོ་མ་འདྲ་དགོས།
8 འདི་མ་སྤྱང་སྤྱང་མོ་ཡོད་རབས་མེད།

5 ltogs skom pas ded nas yong dus na
6 nga 'di 'thung zer ba'i ma zhig dgos
7 ma med na sring mo ma 'dra dgos
8 'di ma spun sring mo yod rabs med

5 As hunger and thirst appear,
6 A mother to give me something to drink is essential,
7 If such a mother is lacking, a mother-like sister is essential,
8 However, no such mother-like sister exists.

Song Eighteen

1 མི་མ་དགུང་གི་བླ་མ་རེད།
2 སྤྱང་དཀར་པོ་བླ་མའི་ཐུགས་ཀ་རེད།
3 དབུ་གསེར་ཞུ་མི་དགོས་རང་འབྲུབ་རེད།

1 nyi ma dgung gi bla ma red
2 sprin dkar po bla ma'i thugs ka red
3 dbu gser zhwa mi dgos rang 'grub red

1 The sun is the *bla ma* of the sky,
2 White clouds are the *bla ma's* heart,
3 A golden hat is unnecessary as it forms naturally.

4 བླ་བ་དགུང་གི་དཔོན་པོ་རེད།
5 དགུང་སྐར་བརྒྱའི་གསལ་སྤྱ་རང་ཤར་རེད།
6 ཐུགས་ཐམ་ཀ་མི་དགོས་རང་འབྲུབ་རེད།

4 zla ba dgung gi dpon po red
5 dgung skar brgya'i gras su rang shar red
6 rtags tham ka mi dgos rang 'grub red

4 The moon is the leader of the sky,
5 Naturally shining among hundreds of stars,
6 A symbolic seal is unnecessary as it forms naturally.

⁷སྐར་ཆེན་དགུང་གི་བག་མ་རེད།
⁸སྒྲིན་དྲུག་བག་མའི་བག་རོགས་རེད།
⁹དྲུག་གོར་མོ་མི་དགོས་རང་འགྲུབ་རེད།

⁷dkar chen dgung gi bag ma red
⁸smin drug bag ma'i bag rogs red
⁹dung gor mo mi dgos rang 'grub red

⁷Venus is the bride of the sky,
⁸Pleiades are the bridesmaids,
⁹Round *dung* are unnecessary as they form naturally.

Song Nineteen

¹བྱ་རང་བའི་འབྲུངས་ས་རྒྱ་གར་རེད།
²བྱ་འདྲུག་སའི་ཕ་ཡུལ་མཚོ་ཁ་རེད།
³བྱ་རང་བའི་སྒྲིན་ལམ་འདེབས་ཕྱོགས་རེད།

¹bya ngang ba 'khrungs sa rgya gar red
²bya 'dug sa'i pha yul mtsho kha red
³bya ngang ba'i smon lam 'debs phyogs red

¹Waterfowl born in India,
²Live at the lake shore,
³And this is as the waterfowl wish.

⁴ལྷག་ཆེར་དཀར་སྒྲེས་ས་སྤང་ལུང་རེད།
⁵བལ་ཆ་རུ་འཚོང་ས་རྒྱ་གར་རེད།
⁶ལྷག་ཆེར་མའི་སྒྲིན་ལམ་འདེབས་ཕྱོགས་རེད།

⁴lug tsher dkar skyes sa spang lung red
⁵bal tsha ru 'tshong sa rgya nag red
⁶lug tsher mo'i smon lam 'debs phyogs red

⁴White sheep born in grassy valleys,
⁵Their sheepskins are sold in China,
⁶And this is as the sheep wish.

7 ལྷན་བུ་མོ་སྒྲེས་ས་པ་མའི་རྩིབ།
 8 ལག་ལས་ཀ་ལས་ས་གནས་ལུལ་རེད།
 9 ལྷན་བུ་མོ་འི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་འདེབས་སྒྲོགས་རེད།

7 sman bu mo skyes sa pha ma'i rtsib
 8 lag las ka las sa gnas yul red
 9 sman bu mo'i smon lam 'debs phyogs red

7 Girls born beside their mothers,
 8 Toil in grooms' homes,
 9 And this is as the girls wish.

Song Twenty

1 འཇོམ་གླིང་ཉི་མ་ཀུན་ལ་མཐོ།
 2 ཅད་དགོས་སུ་ཐག་རིང་མགོན་པོར་མཐོ།

1 'dzam gling nyi ma kun la mkho
 2 nang dgos su thag ring mgron por mkho

1 The universal sun is essential for everyone,
 2 But especially for guests from afar.

3 འདྲ་རིག་རྟ་པོ་ཀུན་ལ་མཐོ།
 4 ཅད་དགོས་སུ་ཐག་པའི་བུ་ལ་མཐོ།

3 'do rig rta pho kun la mkho
 4 nang dgos su jag pa'i bu la mkho

3 A strong horse is essential for everyone,
 4 But especially for sons of bandits.

5 རྩིན་ཆེན་པ་མ་ཀུན་ལ་མཐོ།
 6 ཅད་དགོས་སུ་གནས་འགྲོ་བུ་མོར་མཐོ།

5 drin chen pha ma kun la mkho
 6 nang dgos su gnas 'gro bu mor mkho

5 Loving parents are essential for everyone,
 6 But especially for new brides.

Song Twenty-One

⁷བྱ་བརྒྱ་འཚོགས་ནས་གྲོས་ཤིག་བྱས།

⁸བྱ་ངང་བའི་ཆགས་ས་མཚོ་ལ་གཏད།

⁹དེ་བཞོས་ཏེ་ཐེམས་པ་མིན་ནའང་།

¹⁰བྱ་ངང་བ་རང་གི་སྒྲོན་ལས་རེད།

⁷bya brgya 'tshogs nas gros shig byas

⁸bya ngang ba'i chags sa mtsho la gtad

⁹de bgos te them pa min na'ang

¹⁰bya ngang ba rang gi sngon las red

⁷Hundreds of birds gathered for a discussion,

⁸The waterfowls were sent for the lake to be their habitat,

⁹Even though the lake was not assigned to them,

¹⁰It is due to their own karma.

¹¹ཁྱིམ་བཟའ་ཚང་འཚོགས་ནས་གྲོས་ཤིག་བྱས།

¹²སྒྲོན་བྱ་མོ་གཞན་ཡུལ་གནས་ལ་གཏད།

¹³དེ་བཞོས་ཏེ་ཐེམས་པ་མིན་ནའང་།

¹⁴སྒྲོན་བྱ་མོ་རང་གི་སྒྲོན་ལས་རེད།

¹¹khyim bza' tshang 'tshogs nas gros shig byas

¹²sman bu mo gzhan yul gnas la gtad

¹³de bgos te them pa min na'ang

¹⁴sman bu mo rang gi sngon las red

¹¹Family members gathered for a discussion,

¹²The young woman was sent to the groom's home,

¹³Even though the groom's home was not assigned to her,

¹⁴It is due to her own karma.

Song Twenty-Two

¹བན་སེར་མོ་དབུས་ལ་འགོ་དྲུས་སྟུ།

²སེམས་ཡ་རྒྱུད་འོག་པ་སྒྲིང་གིས་གང་།

³འགང་མི་དགོས་ཚོས་ས་ཚོས་ཡུལ་རེད།

⁴ཡུལ་དབུས་གཙང་དག་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་རེད།

¹ban ser mo dbus la 'gro dus su
²sems ya chung khog pa smreng gis gang
³'geng mi dgos chos sa chos yul red
⁴yul dbus gtsang dag pa'i zhing khams red

¹When a monk goes to Dbus,
²His mind is filled with sorrow,
³Do not feel sad – Dbus is the home of the Dharma,
⁴The Land of Dbus is the Pure Land.

⁵སྐྱོན་བྱུ་མོ་གནས་ལ་འགོ་དྲུས་སྟུ།
⁶མིག་ཁྲ་རིལ་མིག་མཐའ་རྒྱ་ཡིས་གང་།
⁷འགོང་མི་དགོས་བཟའ་ཚང་འགྲིག་ས་རེད།
⁸གནས་སྤྱིད་པོ་རང་ས་རང་ཡུལ་རེད།

⁵sman bu mo gnas la 'gro dus su
⁶mig khra ril mig mtha' chu yis gang
⁷'geng mi dgos bza' tshang 'grig sa red
⁸gnas skyid po rang sa rang yul red

⁵When a bride goes to the groom's home,
⁶Her glittering eyes brim with tears,
⁷Do not cry – it is a home appropriate for a couple,
⁸The good groom's home is just like your own natal home.

Song Twenty-Three

¹བན་རྒྱུང་འདོན་པ་དབྱུས་ནས་གྲགས།
²དབྱུས་ནས་གྲགས་ཏེ་སྒྲར་ནས་ཐོས།
³པ་བླ་མས་གོ་ན་དྲིན་ལན་རེད།

¹ban chung 'don pa dbus nas grags
²dbus nas grags te sgar nas thos
³pha bla mas go na drin lan red

¹The little monks' reputes resounded from Dbus,
²Resounded from Dbus to his former monastery,
³Making their *bla ma* proud when they heard it.

⁴སྐྱེ་ཤར་ཇག་འགོ་རི་ནས་གྲགས།

⁵ རི་ནས་གྲགས་ཏེ་ཡུལ་ནས་གོ།
⁶ སྤྱན་ནང་སྒྲུལ་གོ་ན་སྤྱིད་ཅིག་རེད།

⁴ stag shar jag 'gro ri nas grags
⁵ ri nas grags te yul nas go
⁶ spun na zlas go na skyid cig red

⁴ The young bandits' reputation resounded from the mountains,
⁵ Resounded from the mountains to his family,
⁶ Making brothers and peers happy when they heard it.

⁷ སྤྱན་བྱ་མའི་ལས་ཀ་གནས་ནས་གྲགས།
⁸ གནས་ནས་གྲགས་ཏེ་ཡུལ་ནས་གོ།
⁹ ཡུལ་པ་མས་གོ་ན་བྱིན་ལན་རེད།

⁷ sman bu mo'i las ka gnas nas grags
⁸ gnas nas grags te yul nas go
⁹ yul pha mas go na drin lan red

⁷ The brides' reputation for hard work resounded from the groom's family,
⁸ Resounded from the groom's family to her natal family,
⁹ Making their parents proud when they heard it.

ASPIRATIONAL SONGS

Song One

¹ ངས་གྲལ་འགོ་སྐོར་ནས་ཕྱག་གདན་བཏིང་།
² ཕྱག་ཐིག་ལེ་སུམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་ཡོད།
³ དྲུག་ཅུ་འཕྲུལ་ནས་ཨ་ཁུ་བཞུགས།
⁴ ངས་ཡང་ཡང་བཞུགས་པའི་སྐོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

¹ ngas gral 'go skor nas phrug gdan btings
² phrug thig le sum brgya drug cu yod
³ drug cu'i steng nas a khu bzhugs
⁴ ngas yang yang bzhugs pa'i smon lam 'debs

¹ I spread *phrug* carpet at the head of the row,
² The *phrug* contains 360 patterns,

3 Uncles sit on the 360 patterns,
4 I hope they may sit again and again,

5 ངས་གལ་སྐྱོད་སྐོར་ནས་གོས་གདན་བཅིང་།
6 གོས་རིམ་སྤྱུང་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་ཡོད།
7 དྲུག་ཅུ་ལྟེང་ནས་ན་ལྟ་སྦྱིད།
8 ངས་ཡང་ཡང་སྦྱིད་པའི་སྒོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

5 ngas gral sked skor nas gos gdan gting
6 gos ri mo sum brgya drug cu yod
7 drug cu'i steng nas na zla skyid
8 ngas yang yang skyid pa'i smon lam 'debs

5 I spread *gos*-covered cushions in the center of the row,
6 The *gos* contains 360 patterns,
7 Youths enjoy themselves on the 360 patterns,
8 I hope they may enjoy themselves again and again.

9 གལ་རྩ་སྐོར་ནས་བལ་གདན་བཅིང་།
10 བལ་འཛིལ་ལི་སྤྱུང་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་ཡོད།
11 དྲུག་ཅུ་ལྟེང་ནས་མ་སྤྱུ་སྦྱིད།
12 ངས་ཡང་ཡང་སྦྱིད་པའི་སྒོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

9 gral rnga skor nas bal gdan gting
10 bal 'jil li sum brgya drug cu yod
11 drug cu'i steng nas ma sru skyid
12 ngas yang yang skyid pa'i smon lam 'debs

9 I spread wool cushions at the end of the row,
10 The wool contains 360 wool chunks,
11 *Ma sru* enjoy themselves on these wool cushions,
12 I hope they enjoy themselves again and again.

Song Two

1 རང་མཚོ་ཆེན་ཡག་གི་རྫོང་ནང་ན།
2 ལྷ་དྲུག་སྦྱོང་དཀར་པོ་ཁྱིལ་བཞུགས།
3 རང་ཉ་སྤྱུང་མང་པོས་སྤྱུ་གཡོག་བསྐྱབས།

4 ངས་ཡང་ཡང་སྐྱབ་པའི་སྣོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

¹ nang mtsho chen yag gi rdzong nang na
² klu dung skyong dkar po khri la bzhugs
³ nang nya sram mang pos sku g.yog bsgrubs
⁴ ngas yang yang sgrub pa'i smon lam 'debs

¹ In the depth of a beautiful enormous lake,
² The white conch-protecting naga king is enthroned,
³ Fish and otter within the lake serve the king,
⁴ I hope they may serve him again and again.

5 ཅད་ཁྲོམ་པ་ཡག་གི་ཚོང་ནང་ན།
6 ཅད་པ་ཁུ་བཟང་པོ་ཁྲི་ལ་བཞུགས།
7 ཅད་བྱ་ཚེ་མང་པོས་ཞབས་གཡོག་བསྐྱབས།
8 ངས་ཡང་ཡང་སྐྱབ་པའི་སྣོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

⁵ nang khrom pa yag gi rdzong nang na
⁶ nang pha khu bzang po khri la bzhugs
⁷ nang bu tsha mang pos zhabs g.yog bsgrubs
⁸ ngas yang yang sgrub pa'i smon lam 'debs

⁵ Among the beautiful crowd,
⁶ The good fathers and paternal uncles are enthroned,
⁷ Many sons and cousins serve them,
⁸ I hope they serve them again and again.

Song Three

9 དགུང་ཨ་སྒོན་དགེལ་ནས་འཇའ་གསུམ་ཤར།
10 རྩེ་སྒྲ་མ་འབྱུངས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
11 འཇའ་ཁ་དོག་སྒྲ་ལྡ་ཚང་བ་འདི།
12 ཚེ་བྱི་མ་མཁའ་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།

⁹ dgung a sngon dkyil nas 'ja' gsum shar
¹⁰ rje bla ma 'khrungs pa'i rten 'brel red
¹¹ 'ja' kha dog sna lnga tshang ba 'di
¹² tshe phyi ma mkhyen pa'i rten 'brel red

⁹ Three rainbows shine in the center of the azure sky,

- ¹⁰ A sign that a *bla ma* will be born,
¹¹ All five colors of the rainbow,
¹² A sign of knowledge of the next life.

¹³ ལྷོད་རི་ཆེན་འཕོ་ལ་སྐྱུག་པ་འབྲིབས།
¹⁴ དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་འབྲུངས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
¹⁵ སྐྱུག་དཀར་པོས་རྩ་མགོ་ཁེབས་པ་འདི།
¹⁶ དཔོན་དབང་སྐྱེད་ཆེ་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།

¹³ stod ri chen 'go la smug pa 'thibs
¹⁴ dpon chen po 'khrungs pa'i rten 'brel red
¹⁵ smug dkar pos rdza mgo khebs pa 'di
¹⁶ dpon dbang sdud che ba'i rten 'brel red

- ¹³ Fog covers the peaks of great mountains,
¹⁴ A sign that great leaders will be born,
¹⁵ White mist covers the tops of rocky mountains,
¹⁶ A sign that a leader will command great power.

¹⁷ བླ་མ་དམར་པོའི་བྲེམ་ལ་བྱ་རྒྱུད་བབས།
¹⁸ པ་ཨ་ཁུ་སྐུའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
¹⁹ མགོ་ནམ་འཕང་བསྐྱེད་དེ་འཕུར་བ་འདི།
²⁰ རྒན་ཆེ་ཐག་རིང་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།

¹⁷ brag dmar po'i them la bya rgod babs
¹⁸ pha a khu skyid pa'i rten 'brel red
¹⁹ mtho nam 'phang bstad de 'phur ba 'di
²⁰ rgan tshe thag ring ba'i rten 'brel red

- ¹⁷ The great vulture descends on layers of red cliffs,
¹⁸ A sign that fathers and paternal uncles will be happy,
¹⁹ The vulture flies high into the sky,
²⁰ A sign of longevity for the elderly people.

Song Four

¹ ལྷ་མ་བཟང་པོའི་བཀའ་བྲིན་ལ།
² རྟོག་བྱ་དཀར་པོ་ཆོས་ལ་བསྐྱུར།
³ བན་བརྒྱ་ཆོགས་དུས་འདོན་རྒྱུད་རེད།

¹ bla ma bzang po'i bka' drin la
² shog bu dkar po chos la bsgyur
³ ban brgya tshogs dus 'don rkyang red

¹ With the efforts of great *bla ma*,
² The white paper was printed with Dharma,
³ And ready for chanting whenever a hundred monks gather.

4 བ་ཁུ་བཟང་པོའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ལ།
 5 འབྲོང་རུ་སྐྱུག་པོ་གཞུ་ལ་བཀུག།
 6 བུ་ཚ་བོ་སྦྱེས་དུས་འཕེན་རྒྱུ་རེད།

⁴ pha khu bzang po'i bka' drin la
⁵ 'brong ru smug po gzhu la bkug
⁶ bu tsha bo skyes dus 'phen rkyang red

⁴ With the efforts of great fathers and paternal uncles,
⁵ Wild yak horns were made into bows,
⁶ And ready for archery as the sons and cousins grow up.

7 མ་སྦྱ་བཟང་པོའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ལ།
 8 འབྲུ་རིགས་སྒྲོན་མོ་ཆང་ལ་བསྐྱར།
 9 བྱི་མགོན་པོ་ཚོགས་དུས་འཁུང་རྒྱུ་རེད།

⁷ ma sru bzang po'i bka' drin la
⁸ 'bru rigs sngon mo chang la bsgyur
⁹ phyi mgon po tshogs dus 'thung rkyang red

⁷ With the efforts of great mothers and maternal aunts,
⁸ Blue barley was distilled into liquor,
⁹ And ready for drinking when the guests gather.

Song Five

¹ འདི་ཡང་ནང་རྒྱ་དང་མར་ནང་རྒྱ།
² རྒྱ་གཅིག་ལ་འཛོམས་པའི་འབྲོང་བརྒྱ་ཚོ།
³ འབྲོང་རུ་དམར་གོང་ནས་འདུག་སྒོལ་ཡག།
⁴ རང་འབྲོང་ཕྱག་ཞོལ་ནས་རྩེད་སྒོལ་ཡག།
⁵ འདི་ཡང་ཡང་རྩེ་བའི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

¹ 'di yar nang rdza dang mar nang rdza
² rdza gcig la 'dzoms pa'i 'brong brgya tsho
³ 'brong ru dmar gong nas 'dug srol yag
⁴ nang 'brong phrug zhol nas rtsed srol yag
⁵ 'di yang yang rtse ba'i smon lam 'debs

¹ Both above and below are mountains,
² Wild yaks grazing on the same rocky mountain,
³ It is beautiful that wild yaks with horns graze above,
⁴ It is beautiful that wild yak calves play below,
⁵ I hope they play again and again.

⁶ འདི་ཡར་ནང་གྲོང་དང་མར་ནང་གྲོང་།
⁷ གྲོང་གཅིག་ལ་འཛོམས་པའི་ན་ལྷ་ཚོ།
⁸ པ་ཨ་ཁུ་གཙང་གས་བཞུགས་སྒོལ་ཡག་།
⁹ ནང་ན་ལྷ་ཚོལ་ནས་ཅེད་སྒོལ་ཡག་།
¹⁰ འདི་ཡང་ཡང་རེ་ཅེ་བའི་སྐོན་ལམ་འདེབས།

⁶ 'di yar nang grong dang mar nang grong
⁷ grong gcig la 'dzoms pa'i na zla tsho
⁸ pha a khu gong nas bzhugs srol yag
⁹ nang na zla zhol nas rtsed srol yag
¹⁰ 'di yang yang rtse ba'i smon lam 'debs

⁶ Both above and below are villages,
⁷ The peers gathering at the same village,
⁸ It is beautiful that fathers and paternal uncles sit above,
⁹ It is beautiful that peers sing below,
¹⁰ I hope they sing again and again.

*SHAGS (ANTIPHONAL SONGS)*¹⁸⁷

Song One

¹ འདི་སྐྱུ་འགོ་དབྱས་གཙང་ཡུལ་ན་ཡོད།
² རྗེ་སྐྱུ་མ་སོང་ནས་མ་ལོན་པས།
³ བྲོད་བན་མེར་མོ་སོང་སྟེ་ལོན་རབས་མེད།

¹⁸⁷ The antiphonal songs in this book are selected from a recording of folksongs sung by 'Jam dbyangs skyabs in 2008 and available at <http://tinyurl.com/lsn67yw>, accessed 21 February 2015.

4 ལྷ་དཀའ་ལས་མ་ཐུང་ཕྱིར་ལ་ཤོག།

¹ nga'i glu 'go dbus gtsang yul na yod
² rje bla ma song nas ma lon pas
³ khyod ban ser mo song ste lon rabs med
⁴ sku dka' las ma myong phyir la shog

¹ The begining of my song is in Dbus gtsang,
² The master *bla ma* was unable to obtain it,
³ You, monk, will never obtain it,
⁴ Return home before making trouble.

5 ངའི་གླུ་སྒྲིབ་ཀྱི་མཚོའི་གཏིང་ན་ཡོད།།
6 ཉ་གསེར་མ་སོང་ནས་མ་ལོན་པས།།
7 རྒྱུད་གླུ་བ་སོང་ནས་ལོན་རབས་མེད།།
8 ཁ་འདམ་བག་མ་ཐུང་ཕྱིར་ལ་ཤོག།

⁵ nga'i glu sked rgya mtsho'i gting na yod
⁶ nya gser ma song nas ma lon pas
⁷ khyod sbal ba song nas lon rabs med
⁸ kha 'dam bag ma byed phyir la shog

⁵ The center of my song is at the bottom of the ocean,
⁶ The golden fish was unable to obtain it,
⁷ You, frog, will never obtain it,
⁸ Return home before your mouth is filled with mud.

9 ངའི་གླུ་རྒྱུ་ཆོམ་ཆེན་གྲུ་ན་ཡོད།།
10 རྒྱུད་གླུ་སོང་ནས་མ་ལོན་པས།།
11 རྒྱུད་གླུ་མེད་སོང་ནས་ལོན་རབས་མེད།།
12 རྒྱུ་ངོ་ཚ་མ་ཉེ་ཕྱིར་ལ་ཤོག།

⁹ nga'i glu rnga khrom chen gral na yod
¹⁰ stong rgyal song nas ma lon pas
¹¹ khyod glu med song nas lon rabs med
¹² khyos ngo tsha ma nyo phyir la shog

⁹ My song's end is in the gathering of people,
¹⁰ The champion with over a thousand songs was unable to obtain it,
¹¹ You, songless singer, will never obtain it,

¹² Return home before you are embarrassed.

Song Two

¹ ངའི་གླུ་འགོ་ཤུ་བདེ་དགོ་བདེ་ཡིན།

² བདེ་ལ་ཐུབ་པར་འདོད་ན་བདེ་ལ་རུ་སོང་།

¹ nga'i glu 'go shwa bde dgo bde yin

² bda' thub par 'dod na bda' ru song

¹ The beginning of my song is as smooth as the gait of running deer
and antelope,

² Try to catch it if you think you can.

³ ངའི་གླུ་སྐད་ཚུ་ཆེན་ཡུར་མོ་ཡིན།

⁴ བན་ལ་ཐུབ་པར་འདོད་ན་བན་ལ་རུ་སོང་།

³ nga'i glu sked chu chen yur mo yin

⁴ brgal thub par 'dod na brgal du song

³ The center of my song flows like water in a great irrigation channel,

⁴ Wade through it if you think you can.

⁵ ངའི་གླུ་རྩ་མེད་པའི་གླུ་ཆེན་ཡིན།

⁶ ལེན་ཐུབ་པར་འདོད་ན་ལེན་ཐུབ་ལོངས།

⁵ nga'i glu rnga srid pa'i sgrung chen yin

⁶ len thub par 'dod na mu mthud longs

⁵ The end of my song is the story of the entire universe,

⁶ Continue if you think you can.

Song Three

¹ སྐད་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡི་གེ་ལྷགས་ཐག་རེད།

² པ་བླ་མས་མ་ཤེས་ངོ་མ་ཡིན།

³ བན་སེར་མོས་མི་ཤེས་ཁོ་ཐག་ཡིན།

¹ smad rgya nag yi ge lcags thag red

² pha bla mas ma shes ngo ma yin

³ ban ser mos mi shes kho thag yin

¹ The Chinese written language is a chain,

² Truly, the master *bla ma* was unable to learn it,

³ It will be impossible for the monks to learn it.

⁴ ས་གདང་ལ་ཉག་ག་ཉག་རིང་ཡིན།

⁵ ཏྲ་འདྲོ་བ་མ་འགོས་ངོ་མ་རེད།

⁶ བོད་སྐྱ་མི་མི་འགོས་ཁོ་ཐག་ཡིན།

⁴ sa Gdang la nyag ga nyag ring yin

⁵ rta 'do ba ma 'gos ngo ma red

⁶ bong skya li mi 'gos kho thag yin

⁴ The pass over Gdang la¹⁸⁸ Mountain is long,

⁵ Truly, strong horses were unable to cross it,

⁶ It is impossible for a poor donkey to cross.

⁷ ངའི་སྐྱ་རྒྱུད་པའི་ཆགས་རིང་ཡིན།

⁸ ཏྲ་འདྲོ་བ་མ་འགོས་ངོ་མ་རེད།

⁹ བོད་སྐྱ་མེད་མི་འགོས་ཁོ་ཐག་ཡིན།

⁷ nga'i glu rnga srid pa'i chags rim yin

⁸ nang khrom pas ma shes ngo ma red

⁹ khyod glu med mi shes kho thag yin

⁷ The end of my song is the story of the entire universe,

⁸ Truly, the gathered singers are unable to comprehend it,

⁹ It is impossible for songless singers to comprehend it.

Song Four

¹ འབྲུག་རྒྱུད་གྲགས་ནས་ཡོང་ན་ཡོང་ཚུལ་ཡིན།

² རྒྱལ་འཕངས་ནས་ཡོང་ན་སྐྱག་པ་མེད།

³ ངའི་ལག་ན་ཡུངས་དཀར་སྐྱགས་མ་ཡོད།

⁴ འབྲུག་རྒྱུད་བྲ་བར་ལ་འཕེན་ན་བར།

¹⁸⁸ A mountain pass located between Mtsho sngon Province and the Tibet Autonomous Region.

¹ 'brug chung grags nas yong na yong tshul yin
² thog 'phangs nas yong na lhag pa med
³ nga'i lag na yungs dkar sngags ma yod
⁴ 'brug ljang khra thang la 'phen na thang

¹ It is appropriate that the small dragon come only with a rumbling sound,
² It doesn't matter even if the dragon issues a thunderbolt,
³ I keep the sacred white mustard seeds,¹⁸⁹
⁴ That may take down the mottled green dragon.

⁵ ལྷ་བླ་ངས་ནས་ཡོང་ན་ཡོང་ཚུལ་ཡིན།།
⁶ འགས་ལྷ་ངས་ནས་ཡོང་ན་སྒྲག་པ་མེད།།
⁷ ངའི་ལོག་ན་སྲིད་པའི་སྤྱང་སྤྱུ་ཡོད།།
⁸ སྤྱོད་སྤྱུ་མེད་ཕུགས་ལ་བསྐྱུ་ན་བཅང་།།

⁵ glu blangs nas yong na yong tshul yin
⁶ shags blangs nas yong na lhag pa med
⁷ nga'i khog na srid pa'i sgrung glu yod
⁸ khyod glu med phugs la bsdu na thang

⁵ It is appropriate tha the singers come singing,
⁶ It doesn't matter if they sing *shags*,
⁷ I keep the legendary folk songs about the universe,
⁸ That may defeat you, the songless.

Song Five

¹ ཚོས་ཡོད་ཚོས་མེད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབུས་ལ་འགོ།
² ཚོས་འཤེས་ན་རང་གི་རྒྱན་ཆ་ཡིན།།
³ ཚོས་མ་འཤེས་དོ་ཆ་ཉི་ཤྱེད་ཡིན།།

¹ chos yod chos med gnyis ka dbus la 'gro
² chos shes na rang gi rgyan cha yin
³ chos ma shes ngo tsha nyo byed yin
¹ Both the learned and unlearned in the Dharma go to Dbus,

¹⁸⁹ Mustard seeds are used by tantric practitioners in rituals to suppress storms, which are thought to be the embodiment of dragons. See, for example, Rdo rje don grub (2012:83) for a photograph of white mustard seeds used in hail prevention rituals.

² It is an attribute if one is learned in the Dharma,
³ It is a shame if one is not learned in the Dharma.

⁴ མོ་དཔའ་ཡོད་དཔའ་མེད་གཉིས་ཀ་རྒྱལ་ལ་འགྲོ།

⁵ དཔའ་ཡོད་ན་རང་གི་རྒྱན་ཆ་ཡིན།།

⁶ དཔའ་མེད་ན་རོ་ཆ་ཉ་བྱེད་ཡིན།།

⁴ pho dpa' yod dpa' med gnyis ka jag la 'gro

⁵ dpa' yod na rang gi rgyan cha yin

⁶ dpa' med na ngo tsha nyo byed yin

⁴ Both brave and cowardly men go as bandits,

⁵ It is an attribute to have bravery,

⁶ It is a shame to lack bravery.

⁷ ལྷུ་ཡོད་ལྷུ་མེད་གཉིས་ཀ་འགགས་ལ་འགྲོ།

⁸ འགགས་ཡོད་ན་རང་གི་རྒྱན་ཆ་ཡིན།།

⁹ འགགས་མེད་ན་རོ་ཆ་ཉ་བྱེད་ཡིན།།

⁷ glu yod glu med gnyis ka shags la 'gro

⁸ shags yod na rang gi rgyan cha yin

⁹ shags med na ngo tsha nyo byed yin

⁷ Both with *shags* singing skills and without *shags* singing skills sing
shang,

⁸ It is an attribute to be able to sing *shags*,

⁹ It is a shame if one cannot sing *shags*.

Song Six

¹ ལྷོད་གངས་དཀར་གངས་རིའི་རྩེ་མོ་ནས།།

² འཕྲོད་བྱ་གཉིས་ཨ་ན་མ་ན་ཡིན།།

³ མགོ་འི་རུ་ཐུར་སྤྲེས་པ་མཐོ་དམའ་མེད།།

⁴ རྩ་བླ་ཡག་ལྷག་ནས་མ་མཉམ་ན།།

⁵ མགོ་འི་རུ་ཐུར་གཙོད་ལ་རྟོལ་བྱུར་བརྒྱལ།།

⁶ ལྷོད་མིང་ལ་རྟོལ་ལི་མགོ་རྩོད་འདྲེགས།།

¹ stod gangs dkar gangs ri'i rtse mo nas
² 'brong 'u gnyis a na ma na yin
³ mgo'i ru thur skyes pa mtho dma' med
⁴ rdza khra yag khug nas ma mnyam na
⁵ mgo'i ru thur gcod la rte'u khyur brgyag
⁶ khyod ming la rto'u li mgo ldo 'dogs

¹ At the peak of the snowy mountain of the Upper Land,
² We two wild yaks are exactly the same.
³ With horns of the same length,
⁴ If you are unable to catch me on the multicolored mountain,
⁵ You will be dehorned and sent to live with the calves,
⁶ And you will be called Bald Calf.

⁷ ཐང་པད་མ་ཡག་གི་ཐང་ལུང་ནས།
⁸ རྩ་གཉིས་ཨ་ན་མ་ན་ཡིན།
⁹ ཀླུ་མེད་པའི་ཐོག་ནས་མ་མཉམ་ན།
¹⁰ སྤང་མེད་པའི་ཐོག་ནས་མ་མཉམ་ན།
¹¹ མགོ་འུ་རྩ་ལུང་གཙོད་ལ་བོང་མཉམ་ན།
¹² ཐོག་མེད་ལ་བོང་མཉམ་ལྟར་འདོགས།

⁷ thang pad ma yag gi thang lung nas
⁸ rta 'u gnyis a na ma na yin
⁹ rkang rmig bzhi khyod 'dra nga 'dra yin
¹⁰ spang ser po'i thog nas ma mnyam na
¹¹ mgo'i hu 'bum gcod la bong khyur brgyag
¹² khyod ming la bong li skya ldang 'dogs

⁷ On the beautiful plain of lotus flowers,
⁸ We, two horses, exactly the same,
⁹ With the same number of hooves,
¹⁰ If you are unable to catch me on the yellow meadow,
¹¹ Your mane will be cut off and you'll be sent to live with the donkeys,
¹² And you will be called Gray Donkey.

¹³ ཐང་ཐོག་ཆེན་འདི་ཡི་ནང་རྩ་མ་ནས།
¹⁴ རྩ་གཉིས་ཀ་ཨ་ན་མ་ན་ཡིན།
¹⁵ སྤང་མེད་པའི་ཐོག་ནས་མ་མཉམ་ན།
¹⁶ ཐོག་མེད་པའི་ཐོག་ནས་མ་མཉམ་ན།

¹⁷ལག་ཕུ་རུང་གཅོད་ལ་གྲ་བ་བྱེས།

¹⁸སྤྱད་མིང་ལ་སྒྲ་ཆེན་ལྷན་དམར་འདྲིགས།

¹³ nang khrom chen 'di yi nang rol nas

¹⁴ 'u gnyis ka a na ma na yin

¹⁵ glu blangs na khyod 'dra nga 'dra yin

¹⁶ khrom 'di nas de ring ma mnyam na

¹⁷ lag phu rung gcod la grwa ba byos

¹⁸ khyod ming la bla rgan klad dmar 'dogs

¹³ Among this crowd of gathered people,

¹⁴ We both are exactly the same,

¹⁵ With equal skills in singing,

¹⁶ If you are unable to compete with me today,

¹⁷ Your sleeves will be cut off and you'll become a monk,

¹⁸ You will be called Old Bald Monk.

Song Seven

¹ངའི་ཕ་སྤྱ་བཟང་མོ་སྤྱེས་དུས་ན།

²སྒོ་ག་མ་ལག་གཅིག་གིས་རྩ་བརྩུ་བརྩུལ།

³རྩ་ད་དུང་མ་ཤོར་སྤང་ན་ཡོད།

¹ nga'i pha khu bzang po skyes dus na

² sgrog ma lag gcig gis rta brgya btul

³ rta da dung ma shor spang na yod

¹ When my great father was alive,

² He tamed a hundred horses with one fetter,

³ The horses have not escaped, but still live in the meadow.

⁴ངའི་མ་སྤྱ་བཟང་མོ་སྤྱེས་དུས་ན།

⁵རྩོ་ཨོང་སྒོང་གཅིག་གིས་རྩ་བརྩུ་སྒོལ།

⁶མེ་ད་དུང་མ་གཟིམ་ཐབ་ན་ཡོད།

⁴ nga'i ma sru bzang mo skyes dus na

⁵ nor ong sgong gcig gis ja brgya skol

⁶ me da dung ma gzim thab na yod

⁴ When my great mother was alive,

⁵ She boiled a hundred kettles of tea with one piece of yak dung,

⁶ The fire has not died out, but still burns in the stove.

⁷ ང་གླུ་བ་ཞི་ལུ་སྒྲེས་དུས་ན།

⁸ ཤགས་སྤྱིད་པ་གཅིག་གིས་ཁྲོམ་བརྒྱ་བདུལ།

⁹ སྒྲུ་ད་དུང་མ་ཆར་ཁོག་ན་ཡོད།

⁷ nga glu ba zhi lu skyes dus na

⁸ shags srid pa gcig gis khrom brgya btul

⁹ glu da dung ma tshar khog na yod

⁷ When I, the singer, was born,

⁸ I defeated a hundred singers with one *shags*,

⁹ The songs are not finished, but still remain within me (in my mind).

Song Eight

¹ སྒྲུ་ལེན་བཞིན་ལེན་བཞིན་དབུས་སྒྲུ་སོང་།

² སྤོད་དབུས་གཙང་བླ་མའི་མདུན་ལ་སོང་།

³ སྤོད་དབུས་གཙང་བླ་མས་སྒྲུ་ལོངས་ཟེར།

⁴ སྒྲུ་ལོངས་དང་སྒྲུ་བར་བྲེལ་སྟེར་ཟེར།

⁵ ཁར་ཅི་འཛིག་ཁྲིས་ན་ཆོས་འཛིག་ཟེར།

⁶ དས་དེ་ནས་ཆོས་སྒྲུ་ཨ་མདོར་བྲངས།

¹ glu len bzhin len bzhin dbus su song

² stod dbus gtsang bla ma'i mdun la song

³ stod dbus gtsang bla mas glu longs zer

⁴ glu longs dang glu bar drel ster zer

⁵ khar ci 'jog dris na chos 'jog zer

⁶ ngas de nas chos sna a mdor drangs

¹ I went to Dbus gtsang singing songs,

² And met the *bla ma* of Dbus gtsang,

³ "Sing for me," the *bla ma* said,

⁴ "I'll give you a mule for your song," he said,

⁵ "And what should be put on its back? Let me load the Dharma," he said,

⁶ I then brought the Dharma to A mdo.

⁷ ལྷ་ལེན་བཞིན་ལེན་བཞིན་ཀྱ་ལ་སོང་།
⁸ ལྷ་དྭ་ཀྱ་ནག་ཀྱ་ལ་བོའི་མདུན་ན་སོང་།
⁹ ལྷ་དྭ་ཀྱ་ནག་ཀྱ་ལ་བོས་ལྷ་ལོངས་ཟེར།
¹⁰ ལྷ་ལོངས་དང་ལྷ་བར་མཛོལ་ཟེར།
¹¹ ཁར་ཅི་འཛོག་བྱིས་ན་ཇ་འཛོག་ཟེར།
¹² ངས་དེ་ནས་ཇ་སྒྲ་བོད་ལ་བྲངས།
¹³ ང་ལྷ་བ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་ལ་དེ་འདྲ་རེད།

⁷ glu len bzhin len bzhin rgya la song
⁸ smad rgya nag rgyal bo'i mdun na song
⁹ smad rgya nag rgyal bos glu longs zer
¹⁰ glu longs dang glu bar mdzo ster zer
¹¹ khar ci 'jog dris na ja 'jog zer
¹² ngas de nas ja sna bod la drangs
¹³ nga glu ba skyes tshul de 'dra red

⁷ I went to China singing songs,
⁸ And met the Emperor of China,
⁹ "Sing for me," said the Emperor of China,
¹⁰ "I'll give you a *mdzo* for your song," he said,
¹¹ "And what should be put on its back? Let me load some tea," he
 said,
¹² I then brought tea back to Tibet,
¹³ This is my, the singer's, background.

Song Nine

¹ འབྲོང་རུ་དམར་མགོ་ན་རྩ་གཅིག་ཡོད།
² རྩ་གཅིག་ཕུ་ཐིག་རྩ་ཅེ་བརྒྱད་ཡིན།

¹ brong ru dmar mgo na rwa gcig yod
² rwa gcig pu thig rwa rtse brgyad yin

¹ The wild yak has only one horn,
² This single horn has eight branches.

³ ང་ལྷ་བའི་ཁ་ན་ཤགས་གཅིག་ཡོད།
⁴ ཤགས་གཅིག་ཕུ་སྟོད་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཡིན།

3 nga glu ba'i kha na shags gcig yod
4 shags gcig pu srid pa'i 'khor lo yin

3 I, the singer have only one *shags*,
4 That only *shags* is the wheel of life.

Song Ten

1 ང་གྲང་ཁའི་བྱ་པོ་དཀར་ལྗང་པོ།
2 ཁྱོས་ཐན་བྱ་གདོན་བྱ་མ་ཟེར་དང་།
3 ང་རྩམ་དཔྱོད་ཅན་གྱི་ལྷ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

1 nga gyang kha'i bya pho dkar ldang po
2 khyos than bya gdon bya ma zer dang
3 nga rnam dpyod can gyi lha zhig yin

1 I, the white rooster on the wall,
2 Do not speak of me as an evil rooster,
3 I am the an intelligent god.

4 ང་གྲང་ཚའི་ཕག་མ་ནག་ལྗང་པོ།
5 ཁྱོས་འདྲེ་རེད་གདོན་རེད་མ་ཟེར་དང་།
6 ང་ཤ་ཆེལ་འཛོམས་པའི་ལྷ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

4 nga gyang rtsa'i phag ma nag ldang po
5 khyos 'dre red gdon red ma zer dang
6 nga sha tshil 'dzoms pa'i lha zhig yin

4 I, the black pig by the wall,
5 Do not speak of me as a ghost,
6 I am a god rich in both meat and fat.

7 ང་གྲལ་རྩའི་ཞི་ལུ་ཁ་མཁས་པོ།
8 ཁྱོས་སྤྱ་ཤགས་མེད་གི་མ་ཟེར་དང་།
9 ང་སྲིད་པ་རྒན་པོའི་ཆ་བོ་ཡིན།

7 nga gral rnga'i zhi lu kha mkhas po
8 khyos glu shags med gi ma zer dang
9 nga srid pa rgan po'i tsha bo yin

⁷ I, the eloquent man at the end of the row,
⁸ Do not speak of me as lacking *shags*,
⁹ I am the grandson of an ancient man.

Song Eleven

¹ འཇིག་པ་སྤྱད་མ་ཆེན་མགར་བ་ཡིན།
² མདའ་ཐོད་པའི་དགྲིལ་ལ་འཛེར་ན་བང་།

¹ nga'i pha khu dam chen mgar ba yin
² mda' thod pa'i dkyil la 'dzer na thang

¹ My father and paternal uncles are Dam can, the Blacksmith,
² They may shoot an arrow at the center of your forehead.

³ ད་སྤྱད་བ་ཐེད་པའི་བྲུ་རྒྱུད་ཡིན།
⁴ སྤྱོད་བང་ཆེན་སྤྱལ་ལ་བདའ་ན་བང་།

³ nga glu ba srid pa'i bu rgyud yin
⁴ khyod thang chen khug la bda' na thang

³ I, the singer, am of the lineage of an ancient lineage,
⁴ I may chase you across a massive plain.

Song Twelve

¹ རྩ་ཚྱེན་པོ་འབྲོང་གི་མགོ་ན་ཡོད།
² དེས་རྩུང་གི་ཟེར་བ་གོ་ནི་མེད།

¹ rwa rnon po 'brong gi mgo na yod
² des rdung gi zer ba go ni med

¹ Sharp horns exist on the heads of wild yaks,
² They have never been known to harm people.

³ མཆེ་ཚྱེན་པོ་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཁ་ན་ཡོད།
⁴ སོ་འདེབས་གི་ཟེར་བ་གོ་ནི་མེད།

³ mche rnon po gla bo'i kha na yod
⁴ so 'debs gi zer ba go ni med

3 Sharp tusks exist in the mouth of elephants,
4 They have never been known to bite people.

5 ལྷ་སྒྲོ་མོ་སྒྲོ་བའི་ངག་ན་ཡོད།
6 དེས་སྒྲུབ་གི་ཟེར་བ་གོ་ནི་མེད།

5 glu snyan mo glu ba'i ngag na yod
6 des thub gi zer ba go ni med

5 Beautiful songs exist in the voice of singers,
6 They have never been heard to be challenged.

Song Thirteen

1 ཏྲ་གྲོ་རིལ་སྒོ་རིལ་ངག་ལ་འགོ།
2 ཏྲ་གྲོ་རིལ་སྒྲུབ་གྱིས་མི་སྒྲུབ་གི།
3 སྒྲོད་གྲོ་རིལ་ལམ་ནས་བྱང་ཆད་མོད་།
4 སྒྲོད་འདུག་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ན་སྒྲོད་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

1 rta gro ril sngo ril jag la 'gro
2 rta sngo ril srab kyis mi thub gi
3 khyod gro ril lam nas thang chad song
4 khyod 'dug rgyu yin na skyong rgyu yin

1 You, the dark horse, and the gray horse, go as bandits,
2 The gray horse is too strong to restrain with reins,
3 The dark horse is exhausted on the way,
4 Will you give up or continue?

5 ཞི་ལུ་ཞི་མོ་ཤག་ས་ལ་འགོ།
6 ངའི་སྒྲུ་ཁ་མཚར་ཁོག་ལ་མི་རྒྱུད་གི།
7 སྒྲོས་སྒྲུ་ཤག་ས་ཡིད་ནས་བརྟེན་ཡོད་གི།
8 སྒྲོས་ལེན་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ན་བསྐྱར་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

5 zhi lu zhi mo shags la 'gro
6 nga'i glu kha mtshar khog la mi chud gi
7 khyos glu shags yid nas brjed yod gi
8 khyos len rgyu yin na bskyur rgyu yin

- ⁵ Men and women compete at *shags*,
⁶ I have so many *shags* in mind,
⁷ Have you forgotten your *shags*,
⁸ Will you give up or continue?

Song Fourteen

- ¹ ང་བྱི་ལ་དཀར་མོ་མེད་ལྷལ་ནས།
² ཁྱོད་ཅི་གྲུ་མང་པོས་ཅིག་ལྷིང་བྱེད།
³ ང་ཞི་ལ་དཀར་མོ་ཐོན་དུས་ན།
⁴ ཁྱོད་དོ་རུ་དོ་ལ་བདེ་ལྟ་ཡིན།
⁵ ངས་དོ་བར་ཞིག་ནས་འཛིན་ལྟ་ཡིན།
⁶ ཁྱོད་བག་གདན་དོས་ནས་ཟ་ལྟ་ཡིན།

- ¹ nga byi la dkar mo med shul nas
² khyod tsi gu mang pos tsig ldir byed
³ nga zhi la dkar mo thon dus na
⁴ khyod do ru do la bda' rgyu yin
⁵ ngas do bar zhig nas 'dzin rgyu yin
⁶ khyod bag gdan ngos nas za rgyu yin

- ¹ When I, the white cat, am not at home,
² You, the many mice, make noise,
³ When I return home,
⁴ I will chase you all over the sacks,¹⁹⁰
⁵ I will catch you somewhere under them,
⁶ And eat you on the carpet.

- ⁷ ང་སྟོང་ལྷལ་འབྲུམ་བྱུ་མེད་ལྷལ་ནས།
⁸ ཁྱོད་སྒྲུ་མེད་ཞི་ལུ་ད་ལྷལ་ཆེ།
⁹ ང་སྒྲུ་བ་གལ་ལ་ཐོན་དུས་སྒྲུ།
¹⁰ ཁྱོད་གལ་རུ་གལ་ལ་བདེ་ལྟ་ཡིན།
¹¹ གལ་བར་ཞིག་ནས་འཛིན་ལྟ་ཡིན།
¹² ལ་ལྷུག་མས་བཏང་དུས་ཚར་ནི་རེད།

¹⁹⁰ Bags made of sheep skin and yak skin containing barley flour or grain.

7 nga stong rgyal 'bum thub med shul nas
 8 khyod glu med zhi lu nga rgyal che
 9 nga glu ba gral la thon dus su
 10 khyod gral ru gral la bda' rgyu yin
 11 gral bar zhig nas 'dzin rgyu yin
 12 kha khug mas btang dus tshar ni red

7 When I, the champion of a thousand singers, am not at home,
 8 You, the man lacking songs, are very proud,
 9 When I arrive amid the gathered singers,
 10 I will chase you all over the rows of seating,
 11 I will catch you somewhere among the rows,
 12 And you'll be completely done when you are voiceless.

Song Fifteen

1 ང་ཡེ་ལ་བ་དམར་ཆུང་ཁེས་ནས་བྱད་ན།
 2 ཁྱོད་བྲག་ཐོག་སྐྱ་བས་རིལ་མ་འཕྱོར་གི།
 3 སྐྱག་མི་དགོས་སྐྱ་བོ་དལ་མོར་སྟོད།
 4 སྐྱ་གསོད་འདོད་མིན་མོད་བརྟ་འདོད་ཡིན།

1 nga 'phar ba dmar chung khis nas bud na
 2 khyod brag thog gla bas ril ma 'phyor gi
 3 skrag mi dgos gla bo dal mor sdod
 4 gla gsod 'dod min mod blta 'dod yin

1 When I, the wild dog, appeared atop a pass,
 2 You, the musk deer, spewed out dung uncontrollably,
 3 Do not be scared – just stay where you are,
 4 I won't kill you, I will just look at you.

5 ང་ཁྱོམ་ཆེན་སྐྱ་བ་གལ་ནས་འཁོར་ན།
 6 ཁྱོད་སྐྱ་མེད་ཞི་ལུ་ལྷིང་རྩ་འདར་གི།
 7 སྐྱག་མི་དགོས་སྐྱ་བོ་དལ་མོར་སྟོད་དང་།
 8 ཁྱོད་བདའ་འདོད་ཆེ་ཡིན་ལེན་འདོད་ཡིན།

5 nga khrom chen glu ba gral nas 'khor na
 6 khyod glu med zhi lu'i snying rtsa 'dar gi
 7 skrag mi dgos glu ba dal mor sdod dang
 8 khyod bda' 'dod che yin len 'dod yin

- 5 When I turn around singing amid the gathered singers,
 6 You, the man without songs, have a trembling heart,
 7 Do not be scared, just stay where you are,
 8 I won't chase you – I just want to sing.

Song Sixteen

- 1 ཐང་རྩ་མེད་བྱེ་མ་ལ་ངན་ནས།
 2 ཏྲ་གོ་རིལ་རྩ་མ་འབྲིག་འབྲིག་ཅན།
 3 རྒྱུད་ལྷགས་རྩར་མི་འགྲན་ཁོ་ཐག་རེད།
 4 རྒྱུད་པ་ལོ་ཚང་གི་ཚུ་རྩ་བྱས།

- 1 thang rtswa med bye ma la ngan nas
 2 rta gro ril rnga ma 'big 'big can
 3 khyod lcags rtar mi 'gran kho thag red
 4 khyod pha lo tshang gi chu rta byos

- 1 On the barren land of the dry desert,
 2 Is a sharp-tailed dark horse,
 3 Surely you cannot even compete with a bicycle,
 4 Be my family's water-packing horse.

- 5 ལྷ་འགྲུབ་མ་ལོག་གི་ནང་རོལ་ནས།
 6 མི་ཐུང་ཐུང་སོག་པ་འདའ་འདའ་པོ།
 7 རྒྱུད་ལྷགས་མེད་ནི་ཁོ་ཐག་རེད།
 8 བྱིར་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང་ནས་མ་རྩི་བྱས།

- 5 sbra 'grub ma log gi nang rol nas
 6 mi thung thung sog pa 'da' 'da' po
 7 khyod glu shags med ni kho thag red
 8 phyir yul la song nas ma rdzi byos

- 5 Inside the newly pitched tent,
 6 Is a short man with broad shoulders,
 7 Surely you lack *glu shags*,
 8 Go back home and herd the ewes.

CONCLUDING SONGS

Song One

¹ སྟོད་གན་ན་འཛམ་གླིང་གེ་སར་ཕེབས།

² སྟག་ཤ་ར་འབུམ་གྱིས་བསྐོར་ནས་ཡོད།

³ གོས་སྤྱུག་ནག་འབུམ་གྱིས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོག།

¹ stod gan na 'dzam gling ge ser phebs

² stag sha ra 'bum gyis bskor nas yod

³ gos rmang nag 'bum gyis bkra shis 'jog

¹ Ge sar traveled to the upper region,

² A hundred thousands of youths surrounded him,

³ Bringing auspiciousness with a hundred thousands of dark brown
gos.

⁴ བར་གན་ན་སང་ཁྱམ་འབུག་མོ་ཕེབས།

⁵ མ་ཙོ་ཐོགས་འབུམ་གྱིས་བསྐོར་ནས་ཡོད།

⁶ དུང་གོར་མོ་འབུམ་གྱིས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོག།

⁴ bar gan na seng lcam 'brug mo phebs

⁵ ma co thogs 'bum gyis bskor nas yod

⁶ dung gor mo 'bum gyis bkra shis 'jog

⁴ Ge sar's wife, 'Brug mo, traveled to the middle region,

⁵ A hundred thousands of girls surrounded her,

⁶ Bringing auspiciousness with a hundred thousands of round
dung.

⁷ སྟད་གན་ན་འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱུད་ཡེར་ཕེབས།

⁸ རྟ་འདོ་བ་འབུམ་གྱིས་བསྐོར་ནས་ཡོད།

⁹ སྤ་བེ་སང་འབུམ་གྱིས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོག།

⁷ smad gan na 'dzam gling rkyang yer phebs

⁸ rta 'do ba 'bum gyis bskor nas yod

⁹ sga be sang 'bum gyis bkra shis 'jog

⁷ Ge sar's horse traveled to the lower region,

⁸ A hundred thousands of strong horses surrounded it,

⁹ Bringing auspiciousness with a hundred thousands of saddles.

Song Two

¹ ང་གསེར་གྱི་ཡུལ་ནས་ཡོང་ནི་ཡིན།

² ང་དངུལ་གྱི་ཡུལ་ནས་འདུག་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

³ ངས་གསེར་དངུལ་འཛོམས་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོལ།

¹ nga gser gyi yul nas yong ni yin

² nga dngul gyi yul nas 'dug rgyu yin

³ ngas gser dngul 'dzoms pa'i bkra shis 'jog

¹ I come from the land of gold,

² And will stay in the land of silver,

³ Bringing auspiciousness with abundant gold and silver.

⁴ ང་གོས་གྱི་ཡུལ་ནས་ཡོང་ནི་ཡིན།

⁵ ང་ཕུག་གི་ཡུལ་ནས་འདུག་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

⁶ ངས་གོས་ཕུག་འཛོམས་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོལ།

⁴ nga gos kyi yul nas yong ni yin

⁵ nga phrug gi yul nas 'dug rgyu yin

⁶ ngas gos phrug 'dzoms pa'i bkra shis 'jog

⁴ I come from the land of *gos*,

⁵ And will stay in the land of *phrug*,

⁶ Bringing auspiciousness with abundant *gos* and *phrug*.

⁷ ང་གླུ་གྱི་ཡུལ་ནས་ཡོང་ནི་ཡིན།

⁸ ང་ཤགས་གྱི་ཡུལ་ནས་འདུག་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

⁹ ངས་གླུ་ཤགས་འཛོམས་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོལ།

⁷ nga glu yi yul nas yong ni yin

⁸ nga shags kyi yul nas 'dug rgyu yin

⁹ ngas glu shags 'dzoms pa'i bkra shis 'jog

⁷ I come from the land of *glu*,

⁸ And will stay in the land of *shags*,

⁹ Bringing auspiciousness with abundant *glu* and *shags*.

Song Three

¹བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ཆང་དགུང་ལ་འབྱེད།

²འབྲུག་ཀློན་པ་རྒྱལ་ཁྱིམ་མཆོད་པ་འཕངས།

³གཞོན་པ་རྒྱལ་ཁྱིམ་ཅེད་ཆང་བྱས།

⁴ངས་བསྐྱེ་བ་འཛོམས་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོག།

¹bkra shis g.yang chang dgung la 'khyer

²'brug rgan pa rnams kyis mchod pa 'phangs

³gzhon pa rnams kyis rtsed chang byas

⁴ngas brtse ba 'dzoms pa'i bkra shis 'jog

¹(Let me) take the auspicious liquor to the sky,

²Old dragons make offerings,

³Young dragons use liquor for playing,

⁴Bringing auspiciousness to the singers.

⁵བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ཆང་གྲལ་ལ་འབྱེད།

⁶དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཁྱིམ་མཆོད་པ་འཕངས།

⁷འདི་གཞོན་པ་རྒྱལ་ཁྱིམ་ཅེད་ཆང་བྱས།

⁸ངས་སྐྱེ་བ་འཛོམས་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཛོག།

⁵bkra shis g.yang chang gral la 'khyer

⁶dpon chen po rnams kyis mchod pa 'phangs

⁷'di gzhon pa rnams kyis rtsed chang byas

⁸ngas glu ba 'dzoms pa'i bkra shis 'jog

⁵(Let me) take the auspicious liquor into the rows of people,

⁶The great leaders make offerings,

⁷The young leaders use liquor for singing,

⁸Bringing auspiciousness to the singers.

A FAREWELL MEAL

The antiphonal singing continues for approximately two hours. When the *A zhang* are finally escorted inside, they are offered a farewell meal that the *gnyen tshang* family has prepared. Some *A zhang* may stay at the groom's home for two days and enjoy themselves, though they commonly leave sooner. The groom's family provides mutton, bread, vegetables, soup, noodles, cakes, and many fruit, though impoverished families may only provide meat, bread, and noodles.

Before or after the farewell meal, the eldest *A zhang* or the bride's father concludes the wedding with a gentle speech telling the groom's family to take care of the bride.

The *gnyen tshang's* conclusion follows:

¹ དེ་རིང་སྤྱིར་བུ་མོའི་དོན་དག་གི་ཐང་ནས།

² བརྒྱ་བཤད་དེ་བརྒྱད་ལ་གཏུགས།

³ བརྒྱད་བཤད་དེ་གཅིག་ལ་གཏུགས་ཏེ།

⁴ དོན་དག་འབྲུབ་སོང་ནི་རེད།

¹ de ring spyir bu bu mo'i don dag gi thad nas

² brgya bshad de brgyad la gtugs

³ brgyad bshad de gcig la gtugs te

⁴ don dag 'grub song ni red

⁵ བློད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཆང་ཞེ་ན།

⁶ བླ་ཡག་རྩ་འབྲ་འབྲ།

⁷ འབྲོང་མོའི་རྒྱ་འབྲ་འབྲ།

⁵ khyod sangs rgyas tshang zhe na

⁶ khra yag rdza 'dra 'dra

⁷ 'brong mo'i rwa 'dra 'dra

⁸ འདི་སྤྱི་མོ་བདེ་མོ་བྱས་པ་དང་།

⁹ རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་ཉུང་ཉུང་བྱས་པ།

¹⁰ ཉུང་ཉུང་གོ་བདེ་བྱས་ནི་རེད།

⁸ 'di stsa mo bde mo byas pa dang

⁹ chung chung nyung nyung byas pa

¹⁰ nyung nyung go bde byas ni red

¹¹ འདིར་སྤྱོད་དབུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཕུག་ཡོད།

¹² སྤྱོད་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་གྱི་གོས་ཡོད།

¹¹ 'dir stod dbus gtsang yul gyi phrug yod

¹² smad rgya nag yul gyi gos yod

¹³ དེའི་སྟེང་དར་དཀར་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིས།
¹⁴ བྱེད་ཨ་ཞང་ཚང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་མེས་པ་ཙམ་མཚན་བྱེད་དུ།
¹⁵ ད་བུ་མོའི་སྟེང་ནས་ཨ་ཞང་ཚོས་ཅི་ཡོད་རུང་བཤད་རྒྱ་དེའི་རེ་བ་ཡིན།

¹³ de'i sting dar dkar po bkra shis rtags brgyad kyis
¹⁴ khyed a zhang tshang khro mi nyan zer ba tsam mtshon byed du
¹⁵ da bu mo'i steng nas a zhang tshos ci yod rung bshad rgyu nga'i re
 ba yin

SUMMARY

A male speaker from the groom's side declares that Sangs rgyas's family was very cooperative with Grags pa's family and did their best to simplify the process. Therefore, as a gift, he offers a bundle of *phrug* from Dbus gtsang and *gos* from China, with a *kha btags* decorated with the Eight Auspicious Symbols. He encourages the *A zhang* to speak if they have further comments regarding the bride.

Photo 178. Locals use *gos* made in inner China to make *gos lwa*.



The *A zhang*'s conclusion follows:

¹ངས་ལས་དཀའ་མོ་ཞིག་ཡང་མོ་བྱེད།

²གཏམ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་བསུ་མ་བྱེད།

³ཆོག་གསུམ་གྱིས་ལས་བཅོལ་བྱེད།

¹ngas las dka' mo zhig yang mo byed

²gtam mang po zhig bsdu ma byed

³tshig gsum gyis las bcol byed

⁴ངའི་ཆ་དན་མ་འདྲིར་མཚོན་ན།

⁵མྱིར་བྱིན་གྱི་མི་ཡིན།

⁶བྲག་ལ་འཕངས་བའི་མདའ་ཡིན།

⁴nga'i tsha ngan ma 'dir mtshon na

⁵myir byin gyi mi yin

⁶brag la 'phang ba'i mda' yin

⁷བཟང་ཀུན་ཤེས་མེད།

⁸ཡག་མོ་སྤྲོ་མེད།

⁹ཡིན་ཡང་བུ་བྱ་མོས་མིག་ཆེན་གྱིས་གཟུགས་ཆེན་ལ་བརྟུས་ན།

¹⁰འདྲིར་བཤད་རྒྱ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ནི་མ་རེད།

⁷bzang kun shes med

⁸yag mo sgo med

⁹yin yang bu bu mos mig chen gyis gzugs chen la bltas

¹⁰'dir bshad rgyu mang po yod ni ma red

¹¹གཡུག་ལས་ཀ་མེད་བའི་སྤྲོང་འདི་ནས།

¹²ཆོ་བྱ་གསྐྱིད་ལ་ལས་བཅོལ་བྱས་ནི་ཡིན།

¹³ཨ་མ་འགག་བཟར་བུ་བཅོལ་བྱས་ནི་ཡིན།

¹⁴དེ་མ་གཏོགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་མེད།

¹¹g.yug las ka med pa'i steng 'di nas

¹²tso drug gling la las bcol byas ni yin

¹³a ma 'gag bzar bu bcol byas ni yin

¹⁴de ma gtogs bshad rgyu chen po med

SUMMARY

The *A zhang* states that he will conclude with a few lines. He says that his niece, the bride, does not yet know how to behave properly, is not beautiful, and not diligent at her chores. However, the couple decided to marry and he thus entrusts the bride to the groom's family.

THE *A ZHANG'S* DEPARTURE

If the bride was not previously abducted, she is taken to her natal home by the *A zhang* on the wedding day when the *A zhang* depart. She returns to the groom's home a few days later. This is '*phral gyis bskyal ba*'. If the bride was abducted, she stays at the groom's home. The bridesmaids accompany the bride outside to see the *A zhang* off. The bride usually cries as the *A zhang* depart. This is called *bag gis bskyal ba*. In the latter case, the bride returns to her natal home about three days later.

COMFORTING THE BRIDE

If the *A zhang* see that the bride has not come out to bid farewell, they go inside and see her. As she laments, her father and relatives reassure her, saying, for example, that staying with the groom's family will be fine and her relatives will see her every month, or will take her back home for a visit at least once a year. The bridesmaids also comfort her.

FAREWELL LIQUOR

The *A zhang* now set off for home. Before leaving, the *gnyen tshang* give them *bskon* – clothing, tea, and bottles of liquor – packing these things into the *A zhang's ta len* 'bags'. The groom's family also provides gifts for the bride's mother. This is called *rgyab brje* and includes clothing and tea bricks. In the past, specific gifts were given to other close relatives of the bride. For instance, the *zhang rta* 'A *zhang's* horse' was a horse given to the bride's uncle and *mying rta* 'brother's horse' was a horse given to the bride's brother. However, in 2014 this was uncommon as the number of horses in the village was much reduced compared to twenty or thirty years earlier. It is more common to give cash in the amounts of one hundred to 200 RMB to these relatives instead.

The matchmaker is given a gift that might include bottles of liquor, *kha btags*, and cash, instead of, as in the past, a yak.

When the *A zhang* step outside, many *gnyen tshang* approach and urge them to drink *lam chang* 'liquor for the road'. Under most circumstances, *A zhang* willingly drink the toasts offered; to refuse is

considered rude. Sometimes *A zhang* resist drinking and groups of *gnyen tshang* women start singing taunting, vulgar songs to embarrass the *A zhang*. If no *A zhang* replies effectively, they eventually drink the liquor.

SEEING OFF THE *A ZHANG*

In the past, *A zhang* rode horses, however, in 2016, almost all locals ride motorcycles or drive cars. When all the *A zhang* are in their cars, the *gnyen tshang* hold the rear of the car to prevent it from leaving. To secure their departure, *A zhang* must drink as much liquor as the *gnyen tshang* offer. Finally, the *A zhang* depart.

Photo 179. Horses, donkeys, camels, and yaks were seldom ridden in 2014. Instead, people rode Haojiang, Wuyang, Jialing, Jialong, Yinxiang, Xinganjue, and other motorcycles. Prices ranged from 2,000–6,000 RMB.



ACTIVITIES AFTER THE *A ZHANG*'S DEPARTURE

After the *A zhang* depart, many male relatives and neighbors stay and continue drinking, while a few females stay with them to sing. Most guests and relatives have now gone home, but may later return to sing songs that differ from those sung with the *A zhang* earlier.

LOVE SONGS SUNG COMPETITIVELY AT NIGHT

After the neighbors have eaten supper, they excitedly return to the groom's home in groups and organize the singing of *la gzhas* 'love

songs'. Because the lyrics contain romantic and sexual allusions, relatives of the opposite sex over the age of six or seven never listen together.

As singing continues, elders and drunk men come listen and sit in a circle with the singer in the center. Some people put money in a singer's hair or under their hatband as a reward. Singers compete for money. This singing continues until late at night, and sometimes even until the next morning. After the singing ends, the male singers sometimes pursue the female singers in hopes they can sleep with them.

The following is an example of love songs provided by Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (2005:2):

BEGINNING

Song One (Male)

¹ ཁ་ལ་གཞས་ལེན་ན་ལ་གཞས་ལེན།
² ཁ་ལ་གཞས་དགྲ་ཕྱོད་གཙམ་ལ་ལེན།
³ འབྲུག་པོ་རྒྱུ་ལྷགས་ལ་ལྷན་ནི་ལེན།
⁴ ཆར་ཟིལ་མའི་དངོས་ལྷུང་གཙང་ནི་ལེན།

¹ kha la gzhas len na la gzhas len
² kha la gzhas dgung sngon gnam la len
³ 'brug pho chung thugs la ldan ni len
⁴ char zil ma'i dngos grub gnang ni len

¹ (Let me) sing love songs,
² (Let me) sing to the azure sky,
³ That young dragons will be glad to hear,
⁴ And bestow the fulfillment of rainfall.

⁵ ཁ་ལ་གཞས་ལེན་ན་ལ་གཞས་ལེན།
⁶ ཁ་ལ་གཞས་རྩེད་རའི་ནང་ལ་ལེན།
⁷ སྤྲན་བུ་མོའི་ལྷགས་ལ་ལྷན་ནི་ལེན།
⁸ ཆོག་སྤྲན་མོའི་འབྲས་བུ་ཡོད་ནི་ལེན།

⁵ kha la gzhas len na la gzhas len
⁶ kha la gzhas rtsed ra'i nang la len
⁷ sman bu mo'i thugs la ldan ni len
⁸ tshig snyan mo'i 'bras bu yod ni len

- ⁵ (Let me) sing love songs,
⁶ (Let me) sing to the gathering place for lovers,
⁷ That will gladden the young girls' hearts,
⁸ And attain the fruit of praise.

Song Two (Female)

- ¹ ཁ་ལ་གཞས་ལེན་ན་ལ་གཞས་ལེན།
² ཁ་ལ་གཞས་ཁྲ་ཡག་རྩ་ལ་ལེན།
³ འབྲོང་བྲེ་སེར་གྲགས་ལ་ལྟན་ནི་ལེན།
⁴ ཁ་སྐོམ་པ་རྩ་ཆུ་ཡོད་ནི་ལེན།

- ¹ kha la gzhas len na la gzhas len
² kha la gzhas khra yag rdza la len
³ 'brong bre ser thugs la ldan ni len
⁴ kha skom pa rdza chu yod ni len

- ¹ (Let me) sing love songs,
² (Let me) sing to the multicolored mountain,
³ That the wild yaks with brown hair will be glad to hear,
⁴ And that will be like thirst-quenching water.

- ⁵ ཁ་ལ་གཞས་ལེན་ན་ལ་གཞས་ལེན།
⁶ ཁ་ལ་གཞས་སྡེ་ཆེན་གྲོང་ལ་ལེན།
⁷ ཕོ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་གྲགས་ལ་ལྟན་ནི་ལེན།
⁸ རོགས་འཁྱུག་ཉིས་སྒྲུང་བ་མཐུན་ནི་ལེན།

- ⁵ kha la gzhas len na la gzhas len
⁶ kha la gzhas sde chen grong la len
⁷ pho khyod kyi thugs la ldan ni len
⁸ rogs 'u gnyis snang ba mthun ni len

- ⁵ (Let me) sing love songs,
⁶ (Let me) sing to the great village,
⁷ That you will be glad to hear,
⁸ And that brings our hearts together.

ESTABLISHING A RELATIONSHIP

Song One (Male)

¹ས་འདི་ནས་ལུ་ཚྭ་ཆ་མེད་རེད།
²ཆ་ཡོད་པའི་ས་ཞིག་གང་ན་ཡོད།
³འགྲོ་གོམ་གསུམ་སྟེ་ས་ན་ཆ་ཡོད་རེད།

¹sa 'di nas 'u tsho cha med red
²cha yod pa'i sa zhig gang na yod
³'gro gom gsum spos na cha yod red

¹We are strangers in this place,
²Where can we find a familiar place?
³We become familiar as we walk three paces.

⁴རྟོགས་ཁྱོད་དང་ལུ་གཉིས་ཆ་མེད་རེད།
⁵ཆ་ཡོད་པའི་རྟོགས་ཞིག་གང་ན་ཡོད།
⁶ཁ་ཚིག་གསུམ་ཤོད་དང་ཆ་ཡོད་རེད།

⁴rogs khyod dang 'u gnyis cha med red
⁵cha yod pa'i rogs shig gang na yod
⁶kha tshig gsum shod dang cha yod red

⁴Companions, you and I, are strangers,
⁵Where can we find a familiar companion?
⁶We become familiar as soon as we utter three words.

Song Two (Female)

¹ས་བྲ་བྲང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འབྲིལ་བ་ནས།
²བྲག་མགོན་པོ་སྟ་སྟ་རང་བྱོན་རེད།
³ང་སྟོན་ཆད་མཇལ་ནི་མེད་མོད།
⁴མགོའི་གསེར་རྟོག་བཞེངས་སྟེལ་བཤད་ན།
⁵ཞུ་ཡུད་ནས་མཇལ་ན་འདོད་གི།

¹sa bla brang bkra shis 'khyil ba nas
²brag mgon po lha sku rang byon red
³nga sngon chad mjal ni med mod

4 mgo'i gser tog bzhengs srol bshad na
5 zhwa phud nas mjal na 'dod gi

¹ In Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil,¹⁹¹

² There is a self-arisen statue of the protector deity on the rock,

³ Even though I have never seen it,

⁴ Hearing the story of the monastery's gilded roof ornaments,

⁵ Makes me yearn to take my hat off and prostrate.

6 ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་ཆོ་བྱུག་གླིང་ནས།

7 རོགས་མིང་ཆེན་པ་བཟང་ཞི་ལུ།

8 ང་སྟོན་ཆད་ཅེད་ནི་མེད་མོད།

9 རོགས་ཅེད་སྟོན་མཐུན་སྟོན་བཤད་ན།

10 ཁ་ཆེན་གསུམ་བཤད་ན་འདོད་གི།

6 sde chen po tsho drug gling nas

7 rogs ming chen pha bzang zhi lu

8 nga sngon chad rtsed ni med mod

9 rogs rtsed srol mthun srol bshad na

10 kha tshig gsum bshad na 'dod gi

⁶ In the great village of six tribes,

⁷ The companion, the reputable son of a good father,

⁸ I never sang with him,

⁹ Hearing the story of singing and falling in love,

¹⁰ Makes me want to say a few words.

CLOSE RELATIONSHIP

Song One (Male)

1 ལྷོད་སྟོན་པོའི་རྩ་ར་ནང་གི།

2 རྩ་བརྒྱ་རྩ་མང་གལ་ནས།

3 རྩ་སྟོ་མེར་འདོ་བ་ཟེར་བ།

4 རྩུག་འདོད་དེ་སྒྲ་ཆ་བརྟན་ཡོད།

5 རྩུག་མ་ཐུབ་སྒྲ་བ་བྱིས་བཟུང་ཡོད།

¹⁹¹ A monastery in the northwest of Kan lho (Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province.

6 ཏྲ་འདྲོ་བའི་སྤྱག་བཞིའི་མཚམས་ལ།
7 ལྷུག་ལྷུབ་པའི་སྤྲོན་ལམ་ངས་འདེབས།

1 stod sog po'i rta ra nang gi
2 rta brgya rta mang gral nas
3 rta gro ser 'do ba zer ba
4 rgyug 'dod de sga cha bstad yod
5 rgyug ma thub sgrab kyis bzung yod
6 rta 'do ba'i sug bzhi'i mtshams la
7 rgyug thub pa'i smon lam ngas 'debs

1 In a horse pen in Mongolia, the Upper Land,
2 Among hundreds of horses,
3 Is the so-called fine brownish horse,
4 The saddle is strapped on, waiting for a race,
5 The horse could not race because its reins are held,
6 On the four legs of the fine horse,
7 I pray that the horse will be able to race.

8 མ་པ་རིའི་སྤྲེ་ཆེན་གྲོང་གི།
9 ཕྱི་ཁ་ཡ་ན་ལྷུག་གཤམ་ནས།
10 ངས་ཞེ་མལུན་རྒྱལ་ཤིག་བཅའ་ཡོད།
11 ཅེད་འདྲོད་ནས་ཆེག་གསུམ་བཤད་ཡོད།
12 ཅེད་མ་ལྷུབ་མི་ཁས་བཀག་ཡོད།
13 རྒྱལ་ལྷུང་ལོ་ཆེ་ཐག་རིང་ན།
14 ཅེད་ལྷུབ་པའི་སྤྲོན་ལམ་ངས་འདེབས།

8 rma pha ri'i sde chen grong gi
9 phyi kha ya na zla'i gral nas
10 ngas zhe mthun rogs shig btsal yod
11 rtсед 'dod nas tshig gsum bshad yod
12 rtсед ma thub mi khas bkag yod
13 rogs chung lo tshe thag ring na
14 rtсед thub pa'i smon lam ngas 'debs

8 In the village across the Yellow River,
9 Among youths of the same age,
10 I found a true-hearted lover,
11 I spoke three words as a wish to be together,
12 But we could not be together because rumors interceded,

¹³ If the young lover lives longer,

¹⁴ I pray that we will be able to be together.

Song Two (Female)

¹ས་སྤང་དགར་ཀླད་ཀྱི་མེ་ཏོག།

²ཁངས་བའི་བསམ་པ་ནག་པོས།

³ད་ཐུག་ཆེ་གད་དབང་མེད་གི།

⁴ས་དེང་སང་དབྱར་ཟླ་ཐོན་ཐལ།

⁵ཁྱོད་གད་ན་འགད་རན་ད་རེད།

⁶ངས་ཁྱེ་འགད་རེ་བ་བྱས་ཡོད།

¹sa spang dkar klad kyi me tog

²khangs ba mo bsam pa nag pos

³da thug tshe gad dbang med gi

⁴sa deng sang dbyar zla thon thal

⁵khyod gad na 'gad ran da red

⁶ngas e 'gad re ba byas yod

¹Flowers on the white meadow,

²Due to evil-intentioned frost,

³Could not blossom until today,

⁴Summer has approached today,

⁵It is time to blossom if you want,

⁶I expect you to blossom.

⁷སྤེ་ཆེན་པོ་དགྱིལ་གྱི་རོགས་ལོ།

⁸སྤེ་མི་ཁའི་བསམ་པ་ངན་ནས།

⁹ད་ཐུག་ཆེ་ཕྱིད་དབང་མེད་གི།

¹⁰ས་དེ་རིང་སྤེ་ནས་ཐུག་ཐལ།

¹¹ཁྱོད་ཕྱིད་ན་ཕྱིད་སྐབས་ད་རེད།

¹²ངས་ཁྱེ་ཕྱིད་རེ་བ་བྱས་ཡོད།

⁷sde chen po dkyil gyi rogs lo

⁸sde mi kha'i bsam pa ngan nas

⁹da thug tshe rtsed dbang med gi

¹⁰sa de ring sde nas thug thal

¹¹khyod rtsed na rtsed skabs da red

¹²ngas e rtsed re ba byas yod

⁷ My lover in the great village,
⁸ Due to evil-intentioned rumors,
⁹ Could not be with me until today,
¹⁰ We meet in the village today,
¹¹ It's time if you want (us to) be together.
¹² I hope you want to be with me.

Song Three (Male)

¹ ལྷོད་དབུས་གཙང་ལྷ་ལ་མཇལ་འདོད་རེད།
² མཇལ་འདོད་ཕྱག་གསུམ་འཆལ་བཏང་།

¹ stod dbus gtsang lha la mjal 'dod red
² mjal 'dod phyag gsum 'tshal btang

¹ It is (my) wish to prostrate to the deity in Dbus gtsang,¹⁹²
² And I prostrated three times.

³ བུ་བུ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འདོད་ཐོག་རེད།
⁴ འདོད་ཐོག་ལྷ་དེ་བཞེངས་བཏང་།

³ bu bu mo gnyis kyi 'dod thog red
⁴ 'dod thog lha de bzhengs btang

³ It is the wish of a man and woman,
⁴ And I built the deity of the wish.

Song Four (Female)

¹ ངས་འདོད་པ་འདོད་ཅིག་རྟ་རེད།
² ཁྱེད་འདོད་པ་ལྷ་བཞི་སྟེ་རེད།
³ ལུ་གཉི་གཤེན་འདོད་པ་གཅིག་རེད།
⁴ དེ་ཡིན་ན་འདོད་ཐོག་དེར་འཇོག་

¹ ngas 'dod pa 'do rig rta red
² khyos 'dod pa lhu bzhi sga red
³ 'u gnyi ga'i 'dod pa gcig red
⁴ de yin na 'dod thog der 'jog

¹⁹² It is most likely refers to Jo bo, the image of Shakyamuni in Jo khang Temple in Lha sa.

¹ What I want is a fine horse,
² What you want is a square saddle,
³ Our desires are the same,
⁴ Thus, let's agree.

5 ངས་འདོད་པ་ཞི་ལུ་བྱོད་རེད།
 6 ཁྱོད་འདོད་པ་ཞི་མོ་ང་རེད།
 7 ལུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འདོད་པ་གཅིག་རེད།
 8 དེ་ཡིན་ན་འདོད་ཐོག་དེར་འཇོག།

⁵ ngas 'dod pa zhi lu khyod red
⁶ khyos 'dod pa zhi mo nga red
⁷ 'u gnyis kyi 'dod pa gcig red
⁸ de yin na 'dod thog der 'jog

⁵ What I want is you, the young man,
⁶ What you want is me, the young woman,
⁷ Our desires are the same,
⁸ Thus, let's agree.

PROMISING

Song One (Male)

1 བྱ་ཁུ་བྱུག་སྟོང་ལ་རྟེ་བོ།
 2 ཁྱོད་རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་ནས་ཐོན་དུས།
 3 མགོ་མོ་མ་མི་སྐྱམ་བྱོད་བཟ།
 4 རྟོད་སེལ་ཏྲོག་མི་འཐོར་བྱོད་སྐྱུག།
 5 ཁྱོད་སེམས་ནས་ཨེ་བདེན་འདོད་ན།
 6 གནས་འགངས་ཆེན་སྣང་རའི་གསེར་ཁང་།
 7 རྟེ་བྱམས་པ་བེར་ནས་མནའ་བསྐྱུལ།

¹ bya khu byug snying la rje bo
² khyod rgya gar yul nas thon dus
³ mgo lo ma mi skam khyod blta
⁴ rked sil tog mi 'thor khyod sgug
⁵ khyos sems nas e bden 'dod na
⁶ gnas 'gangs chen snang ra'i gser khang
⁷ rje byams pa zer nas mna' bskyal

- ¹ Lovely cuckoo,
- ² When you come from India,
- ³ I'll wait for you without having the leaves dried on the top,
- ⁴ I'll wait for you without the fruits having gone in the middle,
- ⁵ If you hesitate,
- ⁶ I make a vow in the name of Lord Maitreya¹⁹³ in the holy Golden Temple of Snang ra,¹⁹⁴

⁸ ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་གྲོང་གི་རོགས་ལོ།
⁹ སྤྱོད་ལྷ་ཆེན་གྲོང་ནས་ཐོན་ཆོ།
¹⁰ ཆེག་གཞན་ལ་མི་བཤད་སྤྱོད་བསྟ།
¹¹ རོགས་གཞན་ལ་མི་རྩེད་སྤྱོད་སྟུག།
¹² སྤྱོས་སེམས་ནས་ཨོ་བདེན་འདོད་ན།
¹³ གནས་འགངས་ཆེན་ལྷ་སའི་འོ་ཁང་།
¹⁴ ཇོ་སེར་པོ་ཟེར་ནས་མནའ་བསྟུལ།

- ⁸ sde chen po grong gi rogs lo
- ⁹ khyod sde chen grong nas thon tshe
- ¹⁰ tshig gzhan la mi bshad khyod blta
- ¹¹ rogs gzhan la mi rtsed khyod sgug
- ¹² khyos sems nas e bden 'dod na
- ¹³ gnas 'gangs chen lha sa'i jo khang
- ¹⁴ jo ser po zer nas mna' bskyal

- ⁸ Lover in the great village,
- ⁹ When you come from there,
- ¹⁰ I will wait for you without talking to others,
- ¹¹ I will wait for you without being with others,
- ¹² If you hesitate,
- ¹³ I'll make the vow in the name of the Golden Jo bo¹⁹⁵ at the Jo khang in Lhasa.

Song Two (Female)

¹ ཐང་གཡས་འབྱུང་ཐང་ལུང་གཡོན་འབྱུང་ནས།
² ལྷ་རམ་དཀར་ཁ་ལོ་གཡས་འབྱུང་རེད།

¹⁹³ The future Buddha.

¹⁹⁴ A Buddhist temple in Snang ra Township, Gcan tsha County, Rma lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

¹⁹⁵ The image of Shakyamuni in the Jo khang Temple in Lha sa.

³ ལྷ་འཇག་རིང་མདུད་པ་བཀོལ་མེད་ཡིན།
⁴ ལྷ་གཡུག་ནས་མདུད་པ་དགོལ་རྒྱ་བསམ།
⁵ དགོལ་དགོས་ན་སྟོན་ཆེ་གཞུག་མ་རེད།

¹ thang g.yas 'khyil thang lung g.yon 'khyil nas
² rtswa ram dkar kha lo g.yas 'khyil red
³ rtswa 'jag ring mdud pa bkrol med yin
⁴ rlung g.yug nas mdud pa dgrol rgyu bsam
⁵ dgrol dgos na ston zla gzhug ma red

¹ On the clockwise patterned land and counterclockwise patterned valley,
² The tips of *ram pa* grass curl clockwise,
³ The knot of long '*jag ma* grass can not be untied,
⁴ The wind wants to untie it,
⁵ It has to be next autumn if it has to be unfolded.

⁶ ལྷ་གཡས་རུ་སྤེ་ལུང་གཡོན་རུ་སྤེ་ནས།
⁷ རོགས་རྒྱུད་མོ་ལི་རྒྱལ་ལྷུན་པོ་རེད།
⁸ མནལ་ལྷིད་མོའི་མདུད་པ་བཀོལ་མེད་ཡིན།
⁹ གཏམ་མི་ཁ་ཡོང་ནས་དགོལ་རྒྱ་བསམ།
¹⁰ དགོལ་དགོས་ན་སྟོན་ཆེས་མ་ཡིན།

⁶ sde g.yas ru sde lung g.yon ru sde nas
⁷ rogs chung lo ri rgyal lhun po red
⁸ mna' ljid mo'i mdud pa bkrol med yin
⁹ gtam mi kha yong nas dgrol rgyu bsam
¹⁰ dgrol dgos na skye ba rjes ma yin

⁶ In the right side village and the left side valley,
⁷ The young lover lives like a great mountain,
⁸ Our strong vow is unbreakable.
⁹ Though rumors attempt to break them,
¹⁰ It has to be the next lifetime if it has to be broken.

IN LOVE

Song One (Male)

¹ སྤྱ་མཐིང་སྤུག་སྒོ་དར་ཅན་པོ།
² སྤྱ་ཕུབ་ཤེས་འཐེན་ཤེས་བྱེས་དང་།
³ ཆེ་གང་བོའི་མགོ་སྤྱ་ལོས་ཉན།

¹ sbra mthing smug sgo dar can po
² sbra phub shes 'then shes byos dang
³ tshe gang bo'i mgo sbra los nyan

¹ Dark brown tent with a door cloth,
² Learn to pitch well,
³ It may become your lifelong home.

⁴ རོགས་རྩུང་ལོ་སྤྱིང་ལ་རྩེ་བོ།
⁵ ཆེ་ག་བཤད་ཤེས་གཏམ་ཤེས་བྱེས་དང་།
⁶ ཆེ་གང་བོའི་ཆེ་གོགས་ལོས་ཉན།

⁴ rogs chung lo snying la rje bo
⁵ tshig bshad shes gtam shes byos dang
⁶ tshe gang bo'i tshe grogs los nyan

⁴ Lovely darling,
⁵ Learn to speak appropriately,
⁶ We may become lifelong partners.

Song Two (Female)

¹ རྟོད་ཐང་དཀར་སྤྱིང་ལ་རྩེ་བོ།
² ཡར་འཕུར་ཏེ་ནམ་འཕངས་སྤྱོད་དང་།
³ གསེར་ཉི་མའི་ཐོབ་བྱ་མེད་རུང་།
⁴ བྲག་བྱ་ཆང་ཐོབ་བྱར་ལོས་ཡོད།

¹ rgod thang dkar snying la rje bo
² yar 'phur te nam 'phangs stod dang
³ gser nyi ma'i thob bya med rung
⁴ brag bya tshang thob byar los yod

- ¹ Lovely white vulture,
² Fly up in the sky,
³ Even though you will not be rewarded with the sun,
⁴ You will be rewarded with at least a nest on the cliff.

5 རོགས་ཆུང་ལོ་སྟོང་ལ་རྗེ་བོ།
 6 ཁ་བགད་དེ་ཆོག་གསུམ་ཤོད་དང་།
 7 བྱིས་བཟའ་བའི་ཐོབ་བྱ་མེད་རུང་།
 8 རོགས་རྩེ་བའི་དབང་སྐལ་ལོས་ཡོད།

- ⁵ rogs chung lo snying la rje bo
⁶ kha bgad de tshig gsum shod dang
⁷ khyim bza' ba'i thob bya med rung
⁸ rogs rtse ba'i dbang skal los yod

- ⁵ Lovely darling,
⁶ Speak three words,
⁷ Even though we cannot become husband and wife,
⁸ We are fated to be lovers.

Photo 180. In Stong skor Village, women from the *gnyen tshang* family prepares to sing love songs with A *zhang* in the sheep enclosure, shielded from their relatives.



AFTER THE WEDDING CEREMONY

DISPENSATION OF LEFTOVERS

Eventually the *A zhang*, relatives, and visitors depart. Only the *gnyen tshang* remains. Usually a great deal of food remains. In the past, families kept the leftover meat in bags hung on a wall in the house or in caves, shielded from light and heat. However, in 2016, many families in the farming settlement had refrigerators and were able to store leftovers more easily. However, those in herding areas lacked refrigerators. Some families share leftovers with their relatives and neighbors.

GNYEN TSHANG FEMALES APPROACH THE BRIDE

After the wedding ceremony and after the *A zhang* leave, the girl stays at the groom's home for several days. During this time, the groom's female relatives and neighbor girls visit the bride. Some elders or girls who did not attend the wedding ceremony visit the next day or two after the wedding. When they are with the bride, they talk gently and joke with her in order to get to know her better. Visiting females invite the bride to visit their homes for a meal. When the bride is about to depart, the family that invited her gives her money and clothing, even if they had earlier given gifts to the groom's family at the wedding ceremony.

ESCORTING THE BRIDE TO HER NATAL HOME

Less than a week after the wedding, one or two of the groom's male relatives – often the matchmakers – escort the bride back to her parents' home to stay for a few days. The escort usually returns to the groom's home on the same day.

On this and future occasions, the bride's visits home last no more than two weeks. It is considered irresponsible to stay too long because a new bride contributes valuable labor to a household. Women who stay for long periods in their natal home are thought to be shirking their responsibilities in their husband's home.

RDZONG BA (DOWRY)

The bride is given a dowry one to several months after the wedding, when she becomes pregnant, or when she gives birth after the marriage. Dowry items include clothing, five to ten sheep or goats, and cash with the amount depending on the family's financial condition. Thirty to fifty years ago, sheep and goats and one or two horses were given.

OTHER ISSUES

DIVORCE

Like marriage, divorce is rarely carried out through legal channels. When either the husband or wife wants a divorce, family members gather and discuss the issue. If the family cannot reach an agreement they invite village elders and leaders. The party who disagrees to the divorce tends to demand more compensation, including cash, livestock, and motorcycles. If the other family is willing to make amends, the divorce process goes smoothly.

Elders follow a carefully judged divorce process. If the husband has a lover and plans to marry her, nearly all of the couple's property is given as compensation to the wife. Once both parties agree, compensation is given to the wife based on how many years she stayed at the groom's home and the amount of property that the groom's family has. If the wife has a lover or wants a divorce, she is not entitled to anything from the husband, however, the groom's family usually gives her cash or property.

When demands are not agreed to, the unhappy spouse pursues legal recourse. Such disagreements often lead to animosity between the two families.

If a divorce proceeds, the wife usually takes the children. It is very rare for a man to take children. If a man does take any of the children, he takes the sons leaving the daughters with the former wife.

After a divorce, men usually take another wife and women take another husband. However, divorced women are generally denigrated. Finding a spouse is more difficult for divorced women than it is for a divorced man. Some divorced women may find a lover soon after the divorce, and some may have multiple lovers.

CHILDBEARING

Childbearing is a significant, collective hope. Some couples divorce if the wife does not conceive. When a family realizes that a couple cannot conceive, they advise the man to divorce. However, if the couple are very much in love and the woman does housework well, the couple might adopt a child from a relative.

If a wife does not conceive, she is taken to a *bla ma* and to worship at temples, which is also done if the woman has given birth only to daughters. Men are rarely identified as being infertile.

Women return to their natal home for their first birth and stay for one to two months. Locals do not commonly see doctors. Instead,

female elders assist pregnant women by providing vegetables and nutritious foods, which they believe strengthen a woman. After the birth the new mother is encouraged to eat sheep or goat blood sausage and drink boiled sheep or goat blood. She wears warm clothes, such as a sheepskin robe which is thought to prevent diseases women are susceptible to after giving birth. A friend, who worked at a local clinic, gave the following account:

One night, I was working overtime with another colleague in the clinic. At about midnight, a man burst in through the office door. "Please come quickly!" he said.

We had no idea what was going on. He just grabbed me and my colleague, a young woman, to go with him.

"What's happening?" I asked.

"A woman is giving birth on the road and needs your help," he said.

I took some portable equipment and followed him. We three rode one motorbike. I was still wearing my slippers. We reached a small vehicle stopped by the road a few minutes later. To my surprise, a mature woman was using two black stones, collected by the road, to cut the umbilical cord. The child's mother was kneeling in the car. It was quite embarrassing for me to suddenly supervise the situation because the mother wasn't in the proper position to give birth. We took the mother and infant to the clinic and the mother and infant did not have any serious problems.

MARRIED PEOPLE AND THEIR LOVERS

If a husband realizes that his wife has a lover, he generally seeks a divorce, especially if this happens shortly after the wedding. Both the man and his family typically express anger.

In contrast, husbands usually have lovers. Men often leave Bon skor Village to collect caterpillar fungus and are away for some weeks while their wife stays at home. Men believe that they are entitled to have lovers outside their home.

WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS

Locals believe widows and widowers are unfortunate and most such people often remain single for the remainder of their life. Having relationships with widows is seen as bad luck, but many men do develop relationships with widows.

UNMARRIED ADULTS

According to locals, there were many unmarried village adults prior to 2000, including unmarried women with several children. Most were from poor families and experienced difficulty finding a spouse. Some males married matrilocally, even though this was considered dishonorable as reflected in the saying, "*Mag pa* sit in a low place in the family; donkeys are tied separately from other animals." Some poor families forced their sons to go to monasteries to become monks where they could at least chant for the family who provided food in return.

In 2016, there were many unmarried women, but fewer had children than in the past. The frequency of divorce had increased. Fewer males married matrilocally than in the past and the number of boys forced to become monks was also fewer because many young monks increasingly became laymen in the previous decade.

CONCLUSION

The descriptions in this book are based on interviews and conversations with local consultants and include descriptions of how weddings were held in the past and how locals think weddings should be held today.

In 2016, weddings in Bon skor retained the general structure and cultural context of traditional weddings, however, processes are increasingly simplified. For example, speeches with many proverbs are considered eloquent when a conversation about marriage takes place between families. However, it is increasingly difficult to find a person who knows more than ten proverbs that he can put into such a conversation during the marriage process.¹⁹⁶

With rapid changes in local life in terms of the economy, education, culture, and technology, many aspects of wedding ceremonies in Bon skor Village are endangered. Speeches, recitations, songs, clothing, seating, gifts, and food are dramatically changing. The tendency is to make speeches, recitations, and songs shorter with little regard to their original length and complexity. Now a number of songs with short lyrics mixed with Chinese have appeared among some of the young locals. Below are examples of short love songs, that I overheard in 2013 from some local herdsmen, which many locals think are humorous and practical:

¹ རོགས་ཁྱོད་ནི་ 联通公司 རེད།

² རོགས་ང་ནི་ 移动公司 རེད།

³ ཞེ་སྒྲུང་བ་བར་གྱི་ 信号 རེད།

⁴ ཞེ་མཐུན་ན་ 一打一通 རེད།

⁵ ཞེ་མེད་ན་ 无法接通 རེད།

¹ rogs khyod ni 联通公司 red

² rogs nga ni 移动公司 red

³ zhe snang ba bar gyi 信号 red

⁴ zhe mthun na 一打一通 red

⁵ zhe med na 无法接通 red

¹ You, the partner, are China Unicom¹⁹⁷

² I, the partner, am China Mobile¹⁹⁸

³ Our passion is the reception 'xinhao'

⁴ The phones easily connect if our passion grows

¹⁹⁶ A video of a wedding ceremony from Bon skor Village in 2013 is available at <http://tinyurl.com/oghudf3>, accessed 21 February 2015.

¹⁹⁷ Short form for China United Telecommunications Co. Ltd.

¹⁹⁸ Short form for China Mobile Communications Corporation.

⁵ The phones disconnect if we lack passion

This song metaphorically references the male and female singers by using names of the telecom companies, which are pronounced in Chinese, while the rest of the sentences are in Tibetan. In the third line, the name for phone reception is pronounced in Chinese. These two different communication companies (the two singers) hope to get along well as long as they are connected, regardless of the reception. In Tibetan areas, the telecom services that locals are able to access varies between locations. In some areas only China Mobile can be accessed, in others only China Unicom, and in some areas both services can be accessed. The singer suggests that there are times that they most probably do not like each other. Consequently, the relationship between the two is unbalanced, similar to the access that the two telecom corporations provide.

Many locals think that this song is humorous because the song has particular words and metaphors in Chinese, which is rare in most songs.

Currently, many young villagers do not understand the lyrics of folksongs and love songs, let alone their meaning. This is especially true for locals who have spent little time herding, farming, and participating in local song festivals. A story a friend told me that locals consider extremely humorous illustrates this:

A couple had been together for some time. The girl was from a herding village and boy was from an agricultural village. The boy did not know how to sing folksongs and did not understand the meaning of songs others sang, though they spoke the same Amdo dialect. One day the couple was at a singing festival where the girl sang love songs antiphonally to a man standing by her boyfriend. The longer the two sang, the more they were attracted to each other and, in their songs, eventually expressed love for each other. The girl's boyfriend did not understand any of this, felt very bored, and napped for a while. When he woke up, the two singers had left to have a romantic encounter.

The humor in this account stems partly from the boyfriend not understanding what was being sung, though he was very much physically present.

Changes in many aspects related to weddings are rapid and on-going. For example, during a wedding ceremony that I observed in 2014 in Bon skor Village, no *A zhang* could give a wedding oration and nobody from the local village could give a speech that exceeded ten minutes in length. Folksongs were sung between the *A zhang* and *gnyen tshang* groups. Furthermore, the *A zhang* left the groom's home on the same day that they arrived. *A zhang* and *gnyen tshang*

were both busy with cell phones and video cameras, recording songs and speeches.

Though *A zhang* were honored with special seating at the groom's home, some young *A zhang* behaved like other wedding participants and used cameras and recorders in their cell phones to take photos to document the wedding ceremony. Some *gnyen tshang* also moved around the room with small video cameras. Various attendees were recording and sending this material online through WeChat.

A general point that locals, especially elders, make for a wedding is that it should be simple, small, not feature an excessive amount of meat, and have relatively few *A zhang*. Contemporary wedding celebrations no longer feature platters of meat but, instead, plenty of fruits, bread, and other such foods. Providing a lot of meat is costly and many locals believe it is sinful.

Although general folksongs are endangered and locals do not sing as often as five years ago, weddings held in Bon skor Village still feature song competitions between the *A zhang* and *gnyen tshang*. However, as before, this is not the case if the bride's family requests the groom's family not to sing much because, for example, a relative from the bride's family recently died.

In 2013, I was one of thirty *A zhang* who attended a wedding in neighboring Stong skor Village. At this wedding ceremony, about an hour was provided for *A zhang* to sing love songs with women of the *gnyen tshang*. This was not common for Bon skor Village, unless the *A zhang* were urged to do so.¹⁹⁹

While, in 2016, it was rare in Bon skor Village to hold weddings at local county and town restaurants, it was becoming an increasingly common choice in certain local villages, especially in agricultural villages. Choosing such a venue is more common if one spouse has an official government job, or lives in a city. Some locals think holding weddings in a town restaurant demonstrates high social status and wealth, and is far simpler and quicker than the more traditional wedding held in the countryside. This trend was obvious in Stong che Village, Khri ka County in 2013 and 2014.

I also want to note wedding differences between Bon skor Village (agropastoral) and Rkyang rtso (Jiangzha) Village (agricultural), Dhi tsha (Zhizha) Township, Ba yan (Hualong) County, in Mtsho shar (Haidong) City. *A zhang* in Rkyang rtso Village arrive at the groom's family late in the afternoon, the wedding ceremony takes place at night, and the *A zhang* depart early in the morning. In contrast, *A zhang* in Bon skor arrive at the groom's family early in the morning and depart in the afternoon or the next morning. There is

¹⁹⁹A video of the Stong skor wedding ceremony is available at <http://tinyurl.com/ob7s493>, accessed 21 February 2015.

similarity in singing between two villages. After the *A zhang* and *gnyen tshang* sing a few songs back and forth, several competitors sing at the same time, but they are not singing the same songs. It is thus hard for the audience to hear any particular song clearly.

Many Bon skor villagers born in the mid-1970s and earlier found spouses by singing, but by 2016, this way of finding a spouse was rare.

There is very little detailed study of Tibetan marriage customs at the village level. Oral traditions vary widely between villages and valuable details within each tradition are endangered. Few people will remember what a local Tibetan marriage process was like and how a traditional song was sung a decade later. I hope my studies and records on marriage in Bon skor Village have made a small contribution to Tibetan studies.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Nyangchakja (Snying lcags rgyal, Niang Jijia) was born in 1988 in an agro-pastoral family living near the Yellow River and China's largest inland saline lake, Koknor/ Mtsho sngon Lake, in Mtsho sngon Province

His childhood was spent herding in mountain pastureland. At the age of ten, he was taken to the village farming site to attend the local primary school. His first class consisted of twenty-four students that had dwindled to four students by graduation in 2002.

Attending Mtsho sngon Normal University in 2006 was a life changing experience for him. He took courses taught in English in Linguistics, Cultural Anthropology, World Literature, Teaching Methodology, and Writing. Meanwhile, an English teacher encouraged him to write about his childhood so that readers could better understand his homeland culture. The result was *A Mang rzdong Tibetan Life*.²⁰⁰

In college, he learned how to do small-scale development work. Gradually Nyangchakja successfully obtained funding from embassies, foundations, and individuals. These projects are related to rural health clinics, running water, rural school libraries, scholarship, training programs, solar energy, and small social enterprise.

Experiences from implementing projects, establishing social connections with locals and learning of their poverty and isolation from the outside world, and the limited flow of funds into villages with critical needs persuaded him to register the Friendship Charity Association (FCA), a local NGO, in October 2008 with the Mang ra County Civil Affairs Bureau (www.friendshipcharity.org).

FCA's vision was to help build a better future for the impoverished people of east-central Mtsho sngon Province (A mdo). FCA focused on basic education, water and sanitation, environmental protection, cultural preservation, and social enterprise. From 2005 to December 2014, Nyangchakja implemented 139 projects (value of 8,341,492 RMB) benefiting 81,520 impoverished people.

Attending national and international conferences allowed him to witness the breadth, depth, and maturity of the non-profit sector, particularly in comparison to the NGOs of west China. This inspired him to learn more and do more in facilitating programs that are sustainable, educational, and have a long-term impact.

Nyangchakja is also the founder of Ganglha (www.ganglha.org; www.ganglha.com). In 2016, he was pursuing a MA in Sustainable International Development at Brandeis University.

²⁰⁰ <http://tinyurl.com/bw3jm7o>, accessed 21 February 2015.

PHOTOGRAPHS

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Photo 186. A *ga'u* is a container holding amulet scriptures, blessed clothing, or pieces of wood.



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Photo 192. *Rnga* 'drum' used by local monks and *sngags pa*.



Photo 193. Drum stick.



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Photo 196. *Smyug khrog*, a case for pens.



Photo 197. *maN Dal* 'mandala' in a family shrine.



Photo 198. *Smyug khrog*, a case or tube for pens.



Photo 199. *Sa sku*, printed images of Buddhas and Buddhist deities.



Photo 200. *Dung phor* 'copper bowls' to offer pure water in a shrine.



Photo 201. *Tsha tsha* are made of clay, molded with *tsha rkong*, and may feature images of Buddha and various other Buddhist deities.



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Photo 207. *Dung dkar* 'white conch shell' blown when burning *bsang*.



Photo 208. A silver decorated *dung dkar* used in the local Yul lha Temple.



Photo 209. A *me long* is a bronze mirror used during *sbyin sreg* 'burning ritual'.



Photo 210. *G.yang mda'* 'fortune arrow' is used when chanting *g.yang 'bod*.



Photo 211. *G.yang mda'* 'fortune arrow' is used when chanting *g.yang 'bod*.



Photo 212. A *me long* on a *g.yang mda'*.



Photo 213. Back side of a *me long*.



Photo 214. Round copper objects are considered to be *me long* and are hung on *g.yang mda'*.



Photo 215. Coral and turquoise hung on a *g.yang mda'*.

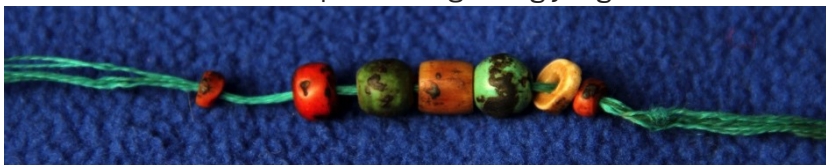


Photo 216. *Tsha rkong*.



Photo 217. *Tsha rkong*.



Photo 218. Wood block for printing *rlung rta*.



Photo 219. A Buddhist wood block.



Photo 220. Wood block used by local *sngags pa*.



Photo 221. Wood block used by local *sngags pa*.



Photo 222. Wood block used by local *sngags pa*.

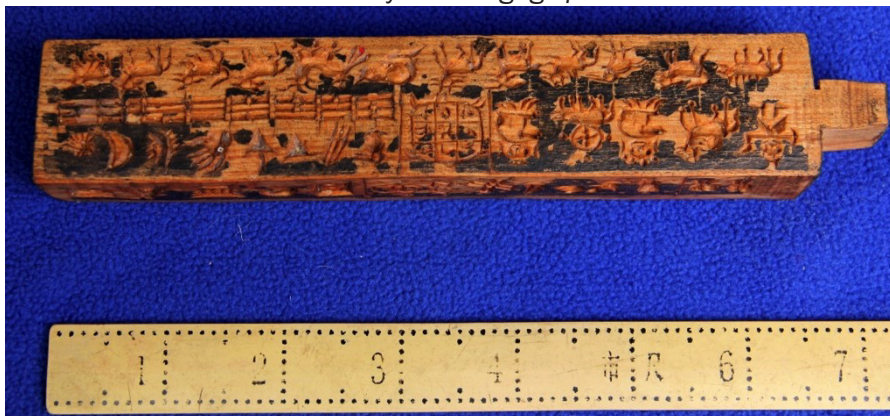


Photo 223. A *rkang dung* is a human thigh-bone trumpet blown by monks and *sngags pa*.



Photo 224 and 225. Boiled butter with beans and herbs are burned during offering rituals to delight local deities to better ensure good health.



Photo 226. A leather srab 'bridle' for a horse.



Photo 227. Yob chen 'stirrup'.



Photo 228. Sga 'saddle'.



Photo 229. Sga thag 'saddle straps'.



Photo 230. Sga yog, carpet placed under a saddle.



Photo 231. Zor ba 'sickle'.



Photo 232. Tsheb, a harvesting tool.



Photo 233. *Shing khem* 'wooden shovel' used to move straw.



Photo 234. *Lcags khem* 'shovel' used to move earth.



Photo 235. *Sta re* 'axe'.



Photo 236. *Sta re* 'axe'.



Photo 237. *Sog le* 'saw'.



Photo 238. *Rgya ma* 'scale' 'steelyard beam'.



Photo 239. *Rgya rdo*, weight used on a scale beam.



Photo 240. '*Khrab ma* 'winnowing tray'.



Photo 241. *Rtswa phyags* is a broom made of straw.



Photo 242. An oil tank used to store water.



Photo 243. *G.yos this* are used to pave and smooth mud and cement on walls and the ground.



Photo 244. Dried yak and cow dung for fuel.



Photo 245. Wood for fuel.



Photo 246. *Rdo ril* 'threshing stone' pulled by mules, donkeys, and tractors before threshing machines were used in the village.



Photo 247. *Mig mang nas tshags*, a grain sieve.

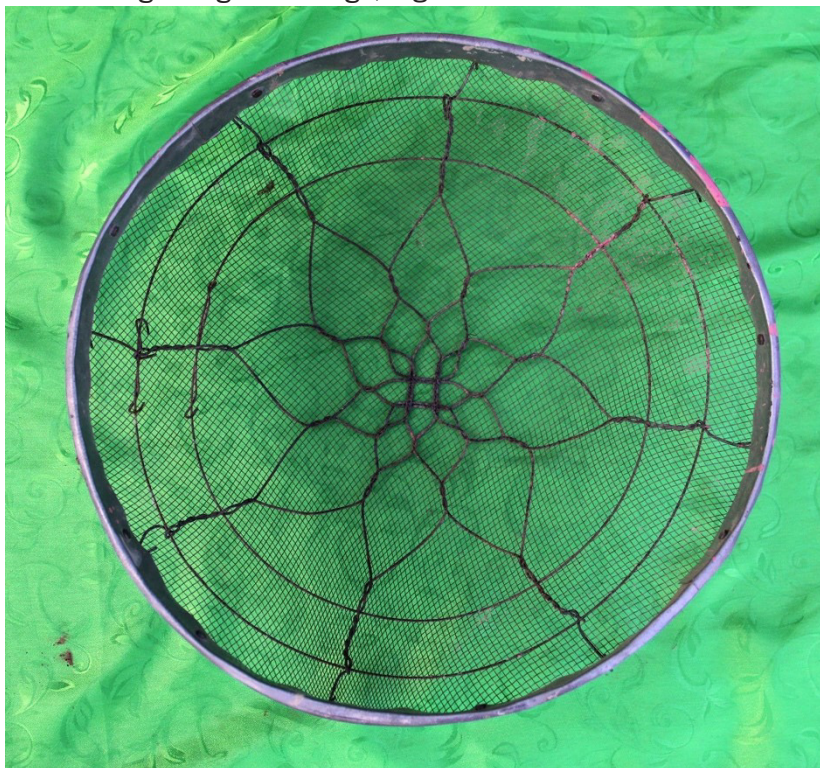


Photo 248. Threshing machine in 2014.



Photo 249. Diesel powered tractor used in a local village.



Photo 250. Butter.



Photo 251. Stone grinder given by a Tibetan doctor to grind medicinal herbs. Later, it was used to grind barley to make *rtsam pa*.



Photo 252. A pan for baking bread.



Photo 253. Kitchen utensils and a wooden storage box for flour.



Photo 254. Wooden storage box for *rtsam pa*, dried cheese, butter, and sugar.



GLOSSARY

'*bab rten* བབ་རྟེན། a white scarf two *gnyen tshang* offer and the *A zhang* accept before entering a home

'Bras spungs བླ་སྤྱུང་། Monastery, Lha sa City

'*brog mgo* བློག་མགོ། a woman's 'nomad hairstyle' consisting of many long, thin plaits

'*brog thab* བློག་ཐབ། 'nomad stove'; adobe stove in a tent

'Brug lha rgyal བླུག་ལྷ་རྒྱལ། a person's name

'Brug mo བླུག་མོ། a person's name

'Brug 'bum rgyal བླུག་བུམ་རྒྱལ། a person's name

'Brug rgya བླུག་རྒྱ། a person's name

'Brug thar rgyal བླུག་ཐར་རྒྱལ། a person's name

'Bum me བུམ་མེ། a person's name

'Bum mtsho skyid བུམ་མཚོ་སྐྱིད། a person's name

'*dun* འདུན། 'longing', 'wish for'; post-death ritual that includes chanting, and inviting monks and *bla ma* to a home to conduct *bdun*

'*e bug* འེབུག་ carpet placed between the humps of a camel

'Gyam ring འགྲུམ་རིང་། name of a place facing the Bon skor Tibetan Village farming area

'Gyu bha འགྲུ་བླ། a person's name

'*ja' drug* འཇར་འདུག་ red, yellow, blue, purple, or pink cloth

'*jag ma* འཇག་མ། name of a grass

'Jam pa'i dbyangs འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས། an alternative name of 'Jam dpal dbyangs

'Jam dbyangs 'phrin las rgya mtsho འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཤིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། the name
of a *bla ma*

'Jam dbyangs nag po འཇམ་དབྱངས་ནག་པོ། the name of a deity

'Jam dbyangs skyabs འཇམ་དབྱངས་སྐྱབས། a consultant's name

'Jam dpal dbyangs འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས། the name of a deity
'*khel* འཁེལ། spin

'*khrab ma* འཁྲབ་མ། a tool used to clean grains and seeds

'Od dpag med འོད་དཔག་མེད། Amitabha

'Phags skyes po འཕགས་སྐྱེས་པོ། one of the Four Great Kings/ Guardians of
the Four Directions

'*phang* འཕང། spindles for making wool strings

'*phang shing* འཕང་ཤིང། spindle stick

'*phang lo* འཕང་ལོ། 'round stone' for spindle

'*Pho ba* འཕོ་བ། technique in Tibetan Buddhism of transferring
consciousness at the time of death directly to one of the Pure
Lands

'*phral gyis bskyal ba* འཕྲལ་གྱིས་བསྐྱལ་བ། the activity of the *A zhang* taking
the bride to her natal home on the wedding day (if she was not
previously abducted) and her return to the groom's home
three days later

'*thag pa* འཐག་པ། weave

'*u ni* འུ་ནི། Mongol-based word that refers to a section in a *gur*

'Ur khyog འུར་ཁྱོག། a local place name

A

A 'brug yul ཨ་བྲུག་ཡུལ། the name of a farming area in eastern A mdo

A kha ཨ་ཁ། (Lcags 'bum rgyal ལྷགས་འབུམ་རྒྱལ།) a person's name

A khu ཨ་རུ། Tribe, Bon skor Village

a lung ཨ་ལུང། buttonholes or loops that are considered *mo sgrog*
'female buttons'

A mchod ཨ་མཚོད། a monk who chants *Thar mdo* for forty-nine days
after a death

A mdo ཨ་མདོ། one of three Tibetan regions that encompasses much of
Mtsho sngon and Gansu provinces

A myes brag dkar ཨ་མེས་བླ་དཀར། a sacred mountain and a deity in Mgo
mang Township, Mang ra County

A myes rma chen ཨ་མེས་རྩ་ཆེན། a holy mountain and deity in Rma chen
County, Mgo log Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

A myes sgro ri rab brtan thogs med ཨ་མེས་སྒོ་རི་རབ་བརྟན་ཐོགས་མེད། a local
deity

A myes Yul lha ཨ་མེས་ཡུལ་ལྷ། a local deity

A rig ཨ་རིག་ Tribe, Bon skor Village

A than rgyal bo ཨ་ཐན་རྒྱལ་བོ། a king's name

A tho ཨ་ཐོ། ('Gyur med rdo rje འགྱུར་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེ།) a person's name

A zhang ཨ་ཙང། the bride's male relatives are individually and
collectively called *A zhang*

A zla ཨ་ལྷ། Tribe, Bon skor Village

B

ba chu skor gsum བ་ཅུ་སྐོར་གསུམ། a package of provisions consisting of
rtsam pa, butter, cheese, bread, salt, and tea, and such other
necessities as a pot, bowl, knife, needle, thread, and clothing
prepared after the death of a family member

Ba han da ba བ་ཧན་དཀ་བ། a local place name

Ba kya'i grwa tshang phun tshogs dar rgyas gling བ་ཀྱའི་གྲ་ཙང་ཕུན་ཐོགས་དར་
རྒྱལ་གླིང། Monastery, Khri ka County Town

Ba lang gad pa བ་ལང་གད་པ། Village, Bya mdo Township

ba so བ་སོ། ivory

Ba yan thang བ་ཡན་ཐང། an area near the Yellow River

Ba yan བ་ཡན། (Hualong 化隆) Hui Autonomous County

bag 'bod བག་བོད། refers to a party held at the groom's home after the bride is invited and arrives at the home

bag bskyal བག་བསྐྱལ། the bride's escort

bag gis bskyal ba བག་གིས་བསྐྱལ་བ། term describing a previously abducted bride staying at the groom's home on the wedding day when the *A zhang* depart.

bag ma'i kha 'gugs བག་མའི་ཁ་འགྲུགས། the bride's fast

bag ras བག་རས། tent

bag rogs བག་རོགས། the bride's female companion

bag rta བག་རྟ། 'bride's horse'; a horse historically given to the bride by the groom's family when the groom's family held a wedding ceremony

bag ston བག་སྟོན། 'bride festivity'; a marriage in which a woman marries and moves to her husband's home

Bang A ma བང་ཨ་མ། a Mongolian king

bang kha བང་ཁ། 'fuel store'

bang shing བང་ཤིང། wooden pieces positioned so as to hold yak or sheep dung used for fuel

Baochan Daohu 包产到户 a policy of returning property to local households by the state

Bar do བར་དོ། state of suspended reality in which the deceased are presented with a series of opportunities for recognition of the true nature of reality

Bayi ་་ a festival held on the first day of the eighth lunar month that allows youths to find lovers. On this day, all fifteen villages in the township assemble for three days in a meadow one kilometer from the township town and five kilometers from Bon skor Village.

bde mchog བདེ་མཚན། the name of a Buddhist recitation

bdud rtsi བདུད་རྩི། 'nectar'

bdun 'dad pa བདུན་པ་དང་པ། a funeral activity; the affected family invites monks to chant for seven days, though certain families hold it for fourteen days

Be len བེ་ལེན། current location of Bon skor Tibetan Village

Bka' 'gyur བཀའ་རྒྱུད། translated teachings of Buddha

Bka' 'gyur བཀའ་རྒྱུད། translated teachings of Gshen rab mi bo che, the founder of G.yung drung Bon

Bkra kho བཀྲ་ཁོ། a local person

Bkra shis rtags rgyad བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟགས་རབྱུད། Eight Auspicious Symbols - a conch shell, a lotus, wheel of the dharma, a parasol, an endless knot, a pair of golden fish, a banner proclaiming victory, and a treasure vase

bla ལྷ། soul, spirit

Bla brang ལྷ་བརྩ། location in the northwest of Kan lho (Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province

bla bya ལྷ་བྱ། 'spirit bird'; corpses placed on the *dur khrod* are eaten by vultures. The first vulture that touches the corpse is the *bla bya* 'spirit bird'

Bla ko 'jigs med 'phrin las rgya mtsho ལྷ་ཀོ་འཇིགས་མེད་འཕྱིན་ལས་བླ་མ་མཚོ། (1866-1948) a *bla ma*'s name

bla ma ལྷ་མ། teacher, master

Bla ma 'ja' mo Dkon mchog bstan 'dzin nyi ma བླ་མ་འཇམ་མོ་དགོན་མཚན་བསྟན་
འཛིན་ཉི་མ། (1791-1854) the founder of Ba kya'i grwa tshang phun
tshogs dar rgyas gling

Bla ma yul gur dge 'dun bstan pa rab rgyas བླ་མ་ཡུ་གུར་དགེ་དུན་བསྟན་པ་རབ་རྒྱལ།
(1834-1911) the founder of Tho le dgon rnam rgyal phun
tshogs chos rdzong gling

Blo bzang bstan pa rgya mtsho ལྷོ་བཟང་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། an author's name

Bod pu de བོད་ཕུ་དེ། a person's name

Bon བོན། early religion in Tibet

bon gshen བོན་གཤེན། a Bon specialist or Bon practitioner

Bon po བོན་པོ། a Bon religious practitioner

Bon po rtse bo བོན་པོ་རྩེ་བོ། the founder of Bon skor Tibetan Village

Bon po'i dpon བོན་པོའི་དཔོན། Bon tantric specialists

Bon po'i zhing kha བོན་པོའི་ཞིང་ཁ། the former location of Bon skor Tibetan
Village

Bon skor rgyal gshen rig 'dzin sems dpa'i gling བོན་སྐོར་རྒྱལ་གཤེན་རིག་འཛིན་
མེས་དཔའི་གླིང། the name of the Bon skor Bon assembly hall

Bon skor བོན་སྐོར། Village, Bya mdo Township

Brag dbar rdza བྲག་དཀར་རྩ། sacred mountain on the border of Mang ra
and Khri ka counties

Brag dbar བྲག་དཀར། (Xinghai 兴海) County, Mtsho lho Tibetan
Autonomous Prefecture

bsang བསང། incense-burning offering

bsang ba བསང་བ། 'purify'

bsang khri བསང་ཁྲི། an incense-burning platform made of adobe or
brick

bsang rtshi བསང་རྩི། incense-burning materials

bsang yig བསང་ཡིག། an incense scripture

Bser thang བསེར་ཐང་། Village, Bya mdo Township

bshad pa བཤད་པ། speech

bskang ba བསྐང་བ། a Buddhist recitation

bskon བསྐོན། gifts such as clothing, tea, and bottles of *chang* and, in 2014, ten to thirty RMB, given to the *A zhang*

bsngo zhu བསྟོ་ཞུ། a funeral ritual

Bsod kho བསོད་ཁོ། a person's name

bstan 'gyur བསྟན་འགྱུར། Sanskrit commentaries on the Buddha's teaching translated into Tibetan

Bstan rgyal བསྟན་རྒྱལ། a former Bon skor Tibetan Village Primary School headmaster

Btsan mgon བཅན་མགོན། a person's name

Bu bsdu འབྲུ་བསྟུ། Tribe, Bon skor Village

bu ras འབྲུ་རས། refers to cloth that the *A zhang* bring with them to the wedding that the *gnyen tshang* ask for using eloquent speeches

bum khug འབྲུ་ཁུག། white sack into which a corpse is placed

Bun khreng འབྲུ་ཁྲེང་། a person's name

Bun khreng འབྲུ་ཁྲེང་། Bon skor Village school manager

Bya bho བྱ་བློ། a person's name

bya chu'i 'gyur khugs བྱ་ཆུ་འི་འགྱུར་ཁུག། *The Rhythm of Byachu*, a periodical published from 2003 by Bon skor Primary School

Bya drug gzhongs བྱ་ལྷུག་གཞོངས། a place name

Bya drug gzhung བྱ་ལྷུག་གཞུང། a place name

Bya gzhung blo bzang བྱ་གཞུང་བློ་བཟང་། an author's name

bya la g.yeng ba བྱ་ལ་གཡེང་བ། 'spreading for birds'; sky burial rituals

Bya mdo བྱ་མདོ། Township Town, Mang ra County

Bya mdo'i rab rgyas བྱ་མདོ་འི་རབ་རྒྱལ། a person's name

Bya rgod phung po'i ri བྱ་རྟོག་ཕུང་པོའི་རི། Vulture Peak Mountain, near
Rajgir in Bihar where the Buddha taught the Prajnaparamita
sutras

Bya stod chu བྱ་སྟོད་ཅུ། a place name

byu ru བྱུ་རུ། coral

bzho bzung བཞོ་བཟུང་། a silver ornament with two hooks at the bottom
that women hang from the sash in the front

Bzhugs khri བཞུགས་ཁྲི། a place name in the herding area of Bon skor
Tibetan Village

bzo zhing བཞོ་ཞིང་། a herding and farming tax

C

Caizhamu ཏ་ཇཾམུ། a person's name

cha ru ཇཾ་རུ། wooden buttons

Chab cha ཇཾ་ཇཾ། the capital of Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous
Prefecture

Chana ཇཾ་ནཾ། Village

chang ཇཾང་། liquor

Che mchog he ru ka ཇེ་མཆོག་ཧེ་རུ་ཀཾ། a Buddhist deity equivalent to Dbal
gsas rngam pa

chon kwa ཇོན་ཀྱ། cypress or birch pole

chon thag ཇོན་ཐག། tent ropes

Chos dbangs ཇོས་དབངས། the name of a local *sngags pa*

Chos rgyal ཇོས་རྒྱལ། the Dharma king

chos skyong srung ma ཇོས་སྐྱོང་སྲུང་མ། protector deities

Chos tsha ཇོས་ཇཾ། Village

chu dar ཇུ་དར། similar to *bu ras* and might consist of gifts of clothing,
phrug, and *kha btags* that women ask the bride or groom's
family for

Chu hor རྩུ་མོར། a place name in Bon skor
chu la bcol ba རྩུ་ལ་བཅོལ་བ། 'water depository'; water burial
cog ldan ཚོག་ལྷན། head of a camel
cong ཚོང། a metal bell
cu su རྩུ་སྦྲ། a saddle

D

Dhi tsha ཧྱི་མཎ། (Zhizha 支扎) Township
dadui 大队 'big team'; community administrative division
dadui duizhang 大队队长 'Committee Team Leaders'
dadui zhuren 大队主任 local committee leader title
dar lcog དར་ལྗོང། prayer flags
dar shing དར་ཤིང། flag pole, to which prayer flags are attached
dar དར། silk, cloth banner
Dbal gsas rngam pa དབལ་གསལ་རྩམ་པ། a Bon deity
Dbal gsas དབལ་གསལ། a Bon religious recitation that practitioners chant
 at homes.
dbang chas དབང་ཆས། a red cloth strip worn around the head by mantra
 practitioners
dbang lung དབང་ལུང། permission given by *bla ma* for locals to chant
 mantras
Dbang bha དབང་བླ། a former Bon skor Village Primary School manager
Dbus gtsang དབུས་གཙང། the name of two places in central Tibet
Dbus lam དབུས་ལམ། County, Mtsho nub (Haixi) Mongolian and Tibetan
 Autonomous Prefecture
Dbus tshwa mtsho dkar mo དབུས་མཚོ་མཆོ་དཀར་མོ། Salt Lake; Lbo yi tshwa
 mtsho
de དེ། 'that'; word used as a substitute for a deceased person's name
De'u mgo gser zhwa དེ་ལུ་མགོ་གསེར་ལྷ། Hill, Bon skor Village

Dga' ldan gser khri དགའ་ལྷན་གསེར་ཁྲི། Ganden Tripa 'Ganden Golden Throne'; the spiritual leader of the Dge lugs Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, who is also the abbot of Dga' ldan Monastery

Dga' ldan དགའ་ལྷན། a large monastery in central Tibet

Dge ldan zhwa ser དགེ་ལྷན་ཞུ་མེད། a Tibetan Buddhist sect

Dge lugs pa དགེ་ལུགས་པ། followers of the Yellow Hat Sect

Dgon thang དགོན་ཐང། Village, Bya mdo Township

dgung zhag zhe dgu དགུང་ཞག་ཞེ་དགུ། the forty-nine day period after a person's death

dianhua 电话 telephone

dianshi 电视 television

dkar mo rtse rgyal དཀར་མོ་རྩེ་རྒྱལ། a hat worn by Bon practitioners

dmag dar དམག་དར། a military banner

dmag gdan དམར་གདན། two or three strips of red cloth on which twenty or so silver bowls are attached to the bride's back as hair decoration

ngul dung དངུལ་དུང། silver bowls used as hair decorations

ngul gyi ga'u དངུལ་གྱི་གཡུ། silver, bowl-shaped ornaments put on the back of women's robes

Don grub རོན་གུབ། a person's name

Dorjee Paljor (Rdo rje dpal 'byor རོ་རྩེ་དཔལ་འབྱོར།)

Dpa' 'bum rgyal དཔལ་འབུམ་རྒྱལ། a former village head

Dpa' bzang དཔལ་བཟང། a person's name

Dpa' kho དཔལ་ཁོ། the first Communist Party secretary of Bon skor Village

Dpa' rtse 'bum དཔལ་རྩེ་འབུམ། a Communist Party secretary of Bon skor Village

Dpal kha དཔལ་ཁ། Township Town, Brag dkar County, Mtsho lho
Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Dpal ldan lha mo དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་མོ། a guardian deity

Dpon phrug དཔོན་ཕུག། 'Leader's son'

Dpon po rgya ldang དཔོན་པོ་རྒྱ་ལང། a leader of Bon skor Village in the
1900s

dpon po དཔོན་པོ། 'leader'

Dpon rgyud དཔོན་རྒྱུད། 'generation of leaders'; before 1958, a leader's
son inherited his father's position

Dpon tshang དཔོན་ཚང། 'Leaders' Tribe'

dpon དཔོན། an alternative name for *sngags pa*

dril bu རྣིལ་བུ། hand bell used in religious ritual

drin chen po རྣིན་ཆེན་པོ། 'the gracious one'; euphemism used to refer to a
deceased person

Drug ci ba ལྷུག་ཅུ་བ། 'sixties'; a religious ritual done to expel evils from
homes and villages

dung རུང། a shell-shaped hair decoration worn by women on the back
of their robes

dung dkar རུང་དྭགས། a white conch shell blown when burning *bsang*

dung phor རུང་ཕོར། copper bowls used to offer water to deities

dung skyong རུང་སྟོང། a naga king

dur khrod རུར་ཁྲོད། charnal ground, sky burial location

Dus gsum sangs rgyas རུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས། Buddhas of the Three Ages

Dzam lha རྩམ་ལྷ། Deity of Fortune

E

Er rgod ཨེར་རྟོད། Hill located behind Bon skor Village

G

Gangs 'dab kyi rang mdangs གངས་འདབ་གྱི་རང་མདངས། a book's name

g.yang 'bod གཡང་འབོད། a Buddhist recitation for calling fortune
G.yang byams skyid གཡང་བྱམས་སྒྱིད། a person's name
g.yang mda' གཡང་མདའ། an arrow used while chanting *g.yang 'bod*
g.yang ra གཡང་ར། a tuft of wool tied on horses as a protective measure
g.yang sa གཡང་ས། 'fortune place', the females' place in a tent
g.yos this གཡོས་ཐིམ། སྒྱིལ་ཐིམ། a tool used to smooth mud and cement
g.yu གཡུ། turquoise
G.yung drung Bon གཡུང་རྩུང་བོན། 'everlasting Bon'; a Bon sect founded by
 Gshen rab mi bo che
G.yung drung rgyal གཡུང་རྩུང་རྒྱལ། a person's name
ga'u གཤུ། a container to store an amulet and worn as an ornament
Gcan tsha གཅན་ཅ། a place name
Gcod pa གཅོད་པ། a person's name
gdan གདན། seats, cushions
Gdung mchod གདུང་མཆོད། the name of a ritual held from the twenty-fifth
 to twenty-ninth days of the tenth lunar month
 commemorating the death of Gshen rab mi bo.
Gdugs bha གདུགས་བླ། a person's name
Ge sar གེ་སར། legendary King of Gling
Gewehui 革委会 'Revolutionary Committee'
glag གླག། eagle
Glang chen གླང་ཆེན། Mountain
Glegs shing གླེགས་ཤིང། Village, Bya mdo Township
Gling dkar stod གླིང་དཀར་སྟོད། an area where King Ge sar was thought to
 reign
glo gzur གློ་གཟུར། a silver crescent moon above a sun decorated with
 coral that hangs from the sash at the right or left hip
glu གླུ། folksong

Gnam byams 'bum གནམ་བྱམས་འབུམ། the fifth official village head
Gnam sras གནམ་སྲས། a guardian deity
gnyen dar གཉེན་དར། a wedding sash
gnyen tshang གཉེན་ཚང། the groom's entourage is collectively called
gnyen tshang

Go ra'i mdo mtshams khang dga' ldan dben gnas yid dga' chos 'dzin
gling གོ་རའི་མདོ་མཚམས་ཁང་དགའ་ལྡན་དབེན་གནས་ཡིད་དགའ་ཚས་འཛིན་གླིང།
Monastery, Bya mdo Township Town

Go ra'i mdo གོ་རའི་མདོ། Village, Bya mdo Township
go re gcus ris ma གོ་རེ་གཙུས་རིས་མ། twisted, deep-fried bread
go re nang lung ma གོ་རེ་ནང་ལུང་མ། deep-fried bread with varied patterns
go re skya phyag གོ་རེ་སྐུ་ཕྱག་ thin baked wheat bread
go re sog sog གོ་རེ་སོག་སོག་ deep-fried bread the thickness of a chopstick
but longer

go'u mo གོ་ལུ་མོ། snowcock
gongfen གཏུ་པ་ work points
gongshe གཏུ་ཤེ་ commune
gor dmar གོ་ར་དམར། deep-fried bread
gos bskon གོས་བསྐྱོན། 'clothing wear'; clothing given as gifts
gos lwa གོས་ལྷ། a robe made of thin cloth
Grags pa གྲགས་པ། a person's name
gro གྲོ། wheat
Gru bzhi གྲུ་བཞི། a place name on the Bon skor grassland
gru lag གྲུ་ལག་ the ropes at the four corners of a tent that strengthen the
tent poles
gru thig གྲུ་ཐིག་ a corner cord used in tents
grwa ba གྲུ་བ། monk, student

Gsang bdag phyag na rdo rje གསང་བདག་ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ། a deity in Rig gsum
mgon po

Gsang sgrog གསང་སྒོག་ a person's name

gseb dri གཤེབ་དྲི། 'body odor'; a pungent body odor that locals believe is
inherited

gser skyems གསེར་སྒྱེམས། liquor offered to mountain deities

gser tog གསེར་རྟོག་ copper or gold plated ornaments on temples and
monastery roofs

Gshen rab mi bo che གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ་ཆེ། the founder of G.yung drung Bon

Gsor rgya གསོར་རྒྱ། a person's name

gtam dpe གཏམ་དཔེ། proverb

gto གཏོ། a Bon religious ritual conducted to expel misfortunes

gtor ma གཏོར་མ། sacrificial items such as cones of *rtsam pa* cake that
are colored red, symbolizing blood

gtor sgams གཏོར་སྒམས། a wooden box to store *gtor ma*

Gu bha གུ་བླ། a person's name

Guinan 贵南 (Mang ra) County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous
Prefecture

Gung ri mkha' 'gro ma གུང་རི་མཁའ་འགོ་མ། a dakini who lived in Rgya yas
Village until 2011

Guomaying 过马营 (Mgo mang) Township

Gur གུར། Tribe, Bon skor Village

gur གུར། yurt

Gur che གུར་ཆེ། Tribe, Bon skor Village

Gur rgan gzhis གུར་རྒན་གཙུག་གཞིས། Tribe, Bon skor Village

Gur lhas གུར་ལྷས། Village, Bya mdo Township Town

gyod གྱོད། law

Gza' khyab 'jug གཙའ་ཁྱེབ་འཇུག་ a guardian deity

Gze ma གཟེ་མ། a mantra

gze ma stong 'don གཟེ་མ་སྟོང་འདོན། chanting the *Gze ma* mantra more
than a thousand times

Gze ma'i lha khang གཟེ་མའི་ལྷ་ཁང། a Bon assembly hall in Stong che
Village, Hexi Township, Khri ka County

gzhung kwa གཞུང་ཀྱ། a beam

gzu ba གཞུ་བ། mediators

H

Ha bzhug ske ཧ་བཞུག་སྐེ། a Bon skor place name

ha mar ཧ་མར། nostrils

Ha ra ཧ་ར། a Bon skor place name

ha ra ci ཧ་ར་ཅི། the name of a column in a *gur*

Hainan 海南 (Mtsho lho) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Haojiang 濠江 a motorcycle

Har ha nag thes ཧར་ཧ་ནག་ཐེས། a Bon skor place name

he gu kyo ཧེ་གུ་རྩོ། to get up/ go

Hexi Town 河西镇 Town, Khri ka County

ho dung ཧོ་དུང། wooden sticks put in the *lab rtse* when constructing
and renewing a *lab rtse*

ho log ཧོ་ལོག། a type of tent

Huangyuan 湟源 County, Zi ling (Xining) City

hu tse ཧུ་ཅེ། a platform made of adobe or brick that can be heated and
used for sleeping, entertaining guests, chatting, and eating

Huzhu 互助 Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County

J

ja bag ཇ་བག། brick tea

ja mchod ཇ་མཚོད། 'tea offering'

ja gdan ཇ་གདན། a hair decoration for women

ja la ཇ་ལ། a hair decoration for women

Jialing 嘉陵 a motorcycle

jin 斤 500 grams

Jo bo ཇོ་བོ། the gold Buddha in the Jo khang Temple in Lhasa

Jo bo ser po ཇོ་བོ་ཤེར་པོ། the gold Buddha in the Jo khang Temple

Jo khang ཇོ་ཁང། Temple, Lha sa City

Jo mo glang ma ཇོ་མོ་གླང་མ། Mount Everest; Chomolungma

K

Kan lho ཀན་ལྷོ། (Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

ke su ཀེ་སུ། to catch a camel

Kha ba rnam rgyal ཀ་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། a person's name

kha btags ཀ་བཏགས། auspicious strips of silk

kha las ཀ་ལས། 'mouth karma', suggesting a person's reputation

kha ru ཀ་རུ། gifts from a groom's neighbor families and relatives

kha tshub ཀ་ཚུབ། the light and smoke hole in a tent

khab shubs ཀ་པ་ཤུབ། a sewing case

Khe bhe ཀེ་བླེ། (Khe yag 'bum ཀེ་ཡག་འབུམ།) a person's name

Kho tshe ཀོ་ཚེ། reincarnation *bla ma*'s name

khra ཀྲ། hawk

Khri ka ཀྲི་ཀ། (Guide) County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Khri ral pa can ཀྲི་རལ་པ་ཅན། (Khri gtsug lde btsan ཀྲི་གཙུག་ལྷེ་བཙུན།), the forty-first Tibetan King

khrim dar ཀྲིམ་དར། 'law silk'; the scarves locals traditionally used to greet Chinese leaders

Khro bo ཀྲོ་བོ། the name of a mantra and a Bon deity

Khrus chog ཀྲུས་ཚོག། a Buddhist recitation

Khu khu cim ཀྲུ་ཀྲུ་ཅིམ། a Bon skor place name

khu lang ལུ་ལང་། ('ja' drug), red, yellow, blue, purple, or pink cloth used
to decorate robes

khu lu su ལུ་ལུ་སུ། the carpet under a saddle

Khun 'dus ལུང་འདུས། a Bon skor place name

khya chen ལུ་ཆེན། crested goshawk

khyim lug ལུ་མ་ལུག། sheep tax

khyim rgyud ལུ་མ་རྒྱུད། 'lineage'

khyung 'brug kha sprod ལུང་འབྲུག་ཁ་སྤོང། confrontation between a garuda
and a dragon

Khyung gzar sgang ལུང་གཙང་སྐང། Mountain, Bon skor Village

khyung ལུང། garuda

klu ལུ། naga, water deity

klu mo ལུ་མོ། nage, female water deity

Klu tshang dgon bshad sgrub dar rgyas dge 'phel gling ལུ་ཙང་དགོན་བཤད་
སྐུབ་དར་རྒྱལ་དགེ་འཕེལ་གླིང། Monastery, Mang chu Township Town

klung rta ལུང་རྟ། see *rlung rta*

Koknor ཁོ་ཁོ་ནོར། Mtsho sngon po, Mtsho sngon Lake

ku sha ཀུ་ཤ། a type of grass

Kun bzang gshen lha 'od dkar ཀུན་བཟང་གཤེན་ལྷ་འོད་དཀར། the name of a
mantra and a Bon deity

Kun grub rgyal ཀུན་གུབ་རྒྱལ། a person's name

Kun rig ཀུན་རིག། the name of a Buddhist recitation

Kun thub rgyal ཀུན་སུབ་རྒྱལ། a person's name

Kye phur ཀྱེ་ཕུར། the high mountain range between Mang ra and Brag
dkar counties, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

L

LA mo gser khri 'Jam dbyangs bstan pa'i nyi ma ལ་མོ་གཤེན་ཁྱི་འཇམ་དབྱངས་
བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཉི་མ། the name of a *bla ma*

LA mo tsa kan no mon han ལ་མོ་ཚ་ཀན་ནོ་མོན་མན། the title of a *bla ma*

LA mo tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho ལ་མོ་ཚོགས་གཉིས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། the name of a *bla ma*

LA mo zhabs drung dkar po dge 'dun bstan 'dzin nor bu dpal bzang ལ་མོ་ཙམ་འཕྲུང་དཀར་པོ་དགེ་འདུན་བསྟན་འཛིན་ནོར་བུ་དཔལ་བཟང། the founder of the Dge lugs Tshal rnga dgon dga' ldan dar rgyas gling, located seven kilometers from Bya mdo Township in Mang ra County

la gzhas ལ་གཞས། love songs

lab rtse ལ་བ་རྩེ། mountain deities and sacred places of worship located on mountain peaks, at the mid-part of mountains, and at the feet of mountains

lam chang ལམ་ཅང། 'road liquor'; the *gnyen tshang* usually brings bottles of beer or liquor to the *A zhang* to drink at the courtyard gate of the groom's home before they leave

lany+dza ལ་ལྷ། a pattern on a silver *dung*

Lbo yi tshwa mtsho ལྷོ་ཡི་ཚྭ་མཚོ། Salt Lake

Lbo lam ལྷོ་ལམ། (Wulan) County

Lbu yi tshwa mtsho ལྷུ་ཡི་ཚྭ་མཚོ། Salt Lake

lcags khem ལྷགས་ཁེམ། a metal shovel

Lcags li ལྷགས་ལི། a person's name

Lcags mo byams ལྷགས་མོ་བྱམས། a person's name

Lcam sring ལྷམ་སྒྲིང། a guardian deity

lha bshos ལྷ་བཤོས། a type of *gtor ma*

Lha chen tshangs ba ལྷ་ཆེན་ཚངས་པ། Brahma

lha dar ལྷ་དར། a strip of silk dedicated to deities

Lha dbang tshe sgron ལྷ་དབང་ཚེ་སྒྲོན། a person's name

Lha khang thang ལྷ་ཁང་ཐང། Township, Khri ka County

Lha mo ལྷ་མོ། the name of a goddess

Lha mchog ལྷ་མཚོག། a person's name

Lha mtsho ལྷ་མཚོ། a person's name

Lha res ལྷ་རེས། a person's name

Lha rgya ལྷ་རྒྱ། the first local headmaster of Bon skor Village School

Lha sa ལྷ་ས། City, the capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region

Lha sgron ལྷ་སྐྱོན། a person's name

Lha tshangs ba ལྷ་ཚངས་བ། Brahma

Lha'i dbang bo brgya byin ལྷ་འི་དབང་བོ་བྱ་བྱིན། the king of all deities

liangshui 粮税 a grain tax

liangzhan 粮站 a grain distribution station

Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946) the author of the *Old Tang Book/ Tang Annals*

Lnga mchod ལྷ་མཚོད། the name of a ritual held on the twenty-fifth day
of the tenth lunar month commemorating the death of Rje
tsong kha pa

lo rgya ལོ་རྒྱ། baked *rgya bo* taken when visiting a family or given to a
visitor during Lo sar

Lo sar ལོ་སར། New Year

Lung yangs Reservior ལུང་ཡངས་འགག། (Tshal rnga/ Longyang Xia 龙羊峡
Reservior), Chab cha County

M

Ma Bufang 马步芳 (1903-1975) a Muslim warlord in Mtsho sngon
Province during the Republic of China (1912-1949)

ma dge ldan ma མ་དགེ་ལྡན་མ། 'virtuous mother'; a euphemistic reference
to a deceased person

ma drin chen མ་དྲིན་ཆེན། 'thankful or respectable mother'; a euphemistic
reference to a deceased person

ma Ni མ་ནི། the short form of oM ma Ni pad+me hU~M, the six syllable
Mantra of Avalokiteshvara.

ma sru མ་སྐྱ། *ma* is for 'mother' and *sru* is for 'maternal aunt'; may
refer to all females in a family

machang 马场 horse station

madui 马队 horse station

mag pa མག་པ། men married matrilocally

mag rta མག་རྟ། 'bridegroom's horse'; refers to ritual of the bride's
family giving a horse to the *mag pa* during the wedding

mag ston མག་སྟོན། a wedding in which the man marries and moves into
the bride's home

Ma gcig srid pa'i rgyal mo མ་གཅིག་སྤིང་པའི་རྒྱལ་མོ། a Bon guardian deity

maN Dal མཎ་ཌལ། mandala

Mang 'ba' bya gsum མང་པ་བྱ་གསུམ། a place name in Mtsho lho Tibetan
Autonomous Prefecture

Mang chu མང་ཆུ། River, Mang ra County; a township in Mang ra

Mang ra ba seng ge rgyal mtshan མང་ར་བ་སེང་གེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། a person's name

Mang ra མང་ར། a place name; a term for Mang ra County Town

Mang rzdong མང་རྫོང། (Guinan) County

Manjushri འཇམ་དབྱངས་ནག་པོ། 'Jam dbyangs nag po

mar sgyid མར་སྐྱིད། a tent's lower hearth

mchod kha མཚོད་ཀ། water or liquor offered to deities

mchod me མཚོད་མེ། butter lamps

mchod rten མཚོད་རྟེན། a stupa

mchod sgam མཚོད་སྒྲམ། a wooden box where shrine items are kept

Mchog bha མཚོག་བླ། a local person

mchong མཚོང། a gem

mda' ra མད་ར། a bullet belt local men tie on their sash as an ornament

mdzo མཛོ་ a yak-cow cross

me cha མེ་ཆ། a traditional, flint and steel lighter

me long མེ་ལོང་། mirror

Mgo dkar མགོ་དཀར། Tribe, Bon skor Village

Mgo log མགོ་ལོག། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Mgo mang མགོ་མང་། Town, Mang ra County

Mgo ne rgyal མགོ་ནེ་རྒྱལ། a person's name

Mgon po phyag drug མགོན་པོ་ཕྱག་དུག། a guardian deity

Mgon po zhal bzhi མགོན་པོ་ཞལ་བཞི། a guardian deity

Mgon rgya མགོན་རྒྱ། a person's name

mig mang nas tshags མིག་མང་ནས་ཚགས། a grain sieve

mjal dar མཇལ་དར། 'meeting silk'; a strip of silk, usually yellow in color,
presented to *bla ma* and leaders

mkha' 'gro ma མཁའ་རྩོམ། dakini

Mkhar lo མཁར་ལོ། a person's name

Mkhar rtse མཁར་རྩེ། a person's name

Mkhas bha མཁས་བླ། a person's name

Mnyam med shes rab rgyal mtshan མཉམ་མེད་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། a
well-known Bon scholar who is considered a deity by Bon skor
villagers who chant his teachings

mo ba མོ་བ། fortuneteller

Mo dbal མོ་དབལ། Village, Bya mdo Township, Mang ra County

Mo hor མོ་ཧོར། Valley, Bon skor

Mo mgo tho log མོ་མགོ་ཐོ་ལོག། an area in the Bon skor herding area

mo rde'u མོ་རྟེ་འུ། pebbles, small wood dice, or sheep droppings used in
divination

mo sgrog མོ་སྒྲོག། a button hole

Mtho las མཐོ་ལས། an alternative spelling of Tho le Monastery

Mthun pa spun bzhi མཐུན་པ་སྟུན་བཞི། 'Four Harmonious Brothers'; the story of a bird, rabbit, monkey, and an elephant symbolic of how friends can use their different abilities to live together harmoniously

mtshan མཆོན། the numbered divination sticks in boxes in temples

Mtsho lho བཙོ་ལྷོ་ (Hainan 海南) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Mtsho nub མཚོ་ལྷན་ (Haixi 海西) Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province

Mtsho shar བཛོ་ཤར། (Haidong 海东) a district name

Mtsho sngon Lake མཚོ་སྔགས་ the largest and highest inland salt lake in China, located in southwest Mtsho sngon Province

Mtsho sngon dge thon slob chen མཚོ་སྒོན་དགེ་སློང་སྐབ་ཆེན། Qinghai Normal
University

mtshon srung མཚོན་སྤྱོད། similar to a *ga'u* where amulets and pictures of
bla ma are kept

Mu ge thang མུ་གེ་ཐང་། a herding area in Bon skor Tibetan Village

mu 亩 a unit of area equivalent to 0.67 hectares

mya ngan རྒྱ་ནག grief

myig sngun མྱེག་སྒྲུབ། offering condolences

mying rta མྱེད་རྟ་ 'brother's horse'; a gift of a horse to the bride's brother

N

nang kwa རྩ་ཀླ tent's interior poles

nang mchod རྒྱུ་མཚོ། a container where offering articles are stored in
a shrine

nang btsong རྒྱལ་ཁོ་སྤྱོད་ an internal tax

Nationalities Teacher's College, Mtsho sngon Normal University བོད་

སྒོན་དག་ཐོན་སྒྲུབ་ཆེན་མི་རིགས་དག་ཐོན་སྒྲུབ་གླིང་།

ngo thig རྩིག a cord inside a tent

Niang Jijia 娘吉加 (Nyangchakja), a person's name

nog རོག a camel hump

Nyag ka ཉག་ག་ Tribe, Bon skor Village

Nyangchakja རྟིང་ཕྱགས་བྱུལ་ a person's name

O

oM ma Ni pad+me hU~M ཨོཾ་མ་ཎི་པདྨེ་ཧཱུྃ། the six syllable mantra of Avalokiteshvara.

P

Pa thos skyid པ་ཐོས་སྒྱིད། a person's name

Pad ma skyid པད་མ་སྒྱིད། a person's name

Pad ma stong ldan པད་མ་སྟོང་ལྷན། a deity

Padmasambhava སྤྲེའ་དཔེན་པད་མ་འབྲུང་གནས། (Slob dpon pad ma 'byung gnas)

pha dge ldan po པ་དགེ་ལྷན་པོ། 'virtuous father'; euphemism for a deceased person

pha drin chen པ་དྲིན་ཆེན། 'thankful father'; euphemism for a deceased person

Phag mo don 'grub པག་མོ་དོན་འགྲུབ། a person's name

pho sgrog ཕོ་སྒྲོག buttons

phrug lwa ཕུག་ལྷ། a wool robe a bit thicker than *gos lwa*

phrug ཕུག wool material for making *phrug lwa*

phug chon ཕུག་ཆོན། the tent rear pole

phug kwa ཕུག་ཀྱ། the tent upper pole

phur ba ཕུར་བ། a wooden pole

phur bu ཕུར་བུ། a dagger used by *sngags pa* during rituals

phya ra ཕྱ་ར། yak hair or wool interwoven cloth

phying ba ཕྱིང་བ། felt

Po ta la པོ་ཏ་ལ། Palace

Q

Qing 清 Dynasty (1644-1912)

Qiqu 七曲 Mountain

Qinghai 青海 Lake (Mtsho sngon po མཚོ་སྒོན་པོ།) the largest and highest inland salt lake in China, located in southwest Mtsho sngon Province.

Qinghai 青海 Normal University (Mtsho sngon dge thon slob chen མཚོ་སྒོན་དགེ་ཐོན་སློབ་ཆེན།) a university in Mtsho sngon

R

ra ར། the local pronunciation of '*sbra*'

ra 'dogs ར་འདོགས། a decorative silver disc with two to three holes placed on the crown of the bride's head

ra chung ར་ཆུང། a hair decoration for women

Ra kho ར་ཁོ། Tribe, Bon skor Village

ra leb ར་ལེབ། a triangular cloth strung with many coral beads that is hung at the end of the bride's plaited hair

ra mgo ར་མགོ། a piece of coral as large as a chicken egg used as personal adornment

ra nag ར་ནག། a medium- or small-sized *sbra*

Ra rdza ར་རྩ། Village, Bya mdo Township

Ra rgya ར་རྒྱ། Monastery

Rab 'og ske ར་འོག་སྒེ། the name of a location in the former Bon skor Village

Rab rno sum 'dzoms ར་རྩོ་སུམ་འདྲོམས། Book

ral gri ར་ལ་གྲི། a sword

ram pa ར་པ། name of a grass

rang རང། gifts from the bride to the groom's family including mutton,
one or two small sacks of candy, and fruits such as apples and
peaches

ras gur རས་གུར། a tent made of white fabric

Rdo ra རོ་ར། Village, Mgo mang Township

rdo rje རོ་རྗེ། vajra

rdo ril རོ་རིལ། a round threshing stone pulled by mules, donkeys, or
tractors

Rdzong 'go རྫོང་འགོ། Village, Lha khang thang Township, Khri ka County

rdzong ba རྫོང་བ། the bride's dowry

re tho རེ་ཐོ། a medium or small-sized *sbra*

Rgod ma'i thang རོད་མའི་ཐང། a location in Bon skor Village

rgod རོད། vulture

rgya ma རྒྱ་མ། a scale or steelyard beam

Rgya mtsho རྒྱ་མཚོ། a person's name

Rgya nur རྒྱ་འུར། a place name in Bon skor Village

Rgya phyug རྒྱ་ཕུག། Tribe, Bon skor Village

rgya rdo རྒྱ་རོ། a weight used on a scale beam

Rgya thog རྒྱ་ཐོག། Village, Mang chu Township, Mang ra County

Rgya yas རྒྱ་ཡས། Village

rgyab brje རྒྱལ་བརྗེ། gifts provided by groom's family for the bride's
mother that include clothing and tea bricks

rgyab dar རྒྱལ་དར། a panel of cloth covered with coral or *ra mgo* hung
on the bride's back over her long plaits

Rgyal ba rin po che རྒྱལ་བ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ། His Holiness the Dalai Lama

Rgyal chen sde bzhi རྒྱལ་ཆེན་སྡེ་བཞི། The Four Great Kings - Yul 'khor

srung, 'Phags skyes po, Spyang mi bzang, and Rnam thos sras

rgyal mtshan rtse mo'i dpung rgyan རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྩེ་མོའི་དཔུང་རྒྱལ། a recitation
from the Tibetan Buddhist scripture Gzungs; a type of ritual
speech similar to a mantra meaning 'to hold' or 'maintain'

Rgyal srid sna bdun རྒྱལ་སྤིང་སྐ་བདུན། the Seven Royal Possessions
rgyu rin རྒྱུ་རིན། the bridewealth/ dowry

Rig grol རིག་གྲོ། a person's name

Rigs gsum mgon po རིག་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ། the Lords of the Three Families -
'Jam dpal dbyangs, Spyian ras gzigs, and Gsang bdag phyag na
rdo rje

Rin bzang རིན་བཟང། a person's name

rin po che རིན་པོ་ཆེ། 'precious'; term for a knowledgeable person

Rje blo bzang grags pa རྗེ་བློ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ། (1357-1419) the founder of the
Dge lugs Sect

Rje byams pa རྗེ་བྱམས་པ། the Future Buddha, Maitreya

Rje gser khang pa རྗེ་གཤེར་ཁང་པ། the founder of Bon skor Yul lha Temple

Rje tsong kha pa རྗེ་ཙོང་ཁ་པ། alternative name of Rje blo bzang grags pa

Rje zhwa dmar pa རྗེ་ཞྭ་དམར་པ། the name of a reincarnated *bla ma*

Rka lo ར་ལོ། the name of a Yul lha temple caretaker

rkang dung ར་རྩུང། a thighbone trumpet blown by monks and *sngags*
pa during rituals

Rkyang rtse རྒྱལ་རྩ། (Jiangzha 江扎) Village

rkyang རྒྱལ། a wild ass

rlung la spur ba རླུང་ལ་སྤྱར་བ། 'dispose by wind'; sky burial ritual

rlung rta རླུང་རྩ། 'wind horses', pieces of thin square paper printed with
a horse and Buddhist formulations

rlung rta sde bzhi རླུང་རྩ་སྤེ་བཞི། 'the four classes of fortune'

Rma chu ར་ཆུ། a river's name

rmu thag རྩ་ཐག a rope made from white sheep wool that locals believe joins humans and Heaven and is thought to protect local villagers' livestock

rna thog རྩ་ཐོག women's silver earrings that feature long thin chains that end in small bells and are decorated with coral

Rnam mkhyen rgyal ba རྩ་མ་ཕྱེན་རྒྱལ་བ། a Bon deity

rnam shes རྩ་ཤེས། consciousness; the soul

Rnam sras རྩ་སྲས། a guardian deity

Rnam thos sras རྩ་ཐོས་སྲས། one of the Four Great Kings/ Gurdians of the Four Directions

rnga རྩ། a drum

Rta mgrin རྩ་མགྲིན། the name of a deity

rten 'brel རྩེན་འབྲེལ། 'fortune', 'interdependent connection', 'cause', 'omen', a term defining things as dependently linked or circumstantially interconnected

rtsam pa རྩ་མ་པ། hot tea is poured into a bowl, butter is added and, after the butter melts, roasted barley flour, dried cheese, and (depending on personal preference) sugar are added. This is mixed so that it has the texture of stiff cookie dough and is then eaten

rtsis pa རྩིས་པ། an astrologer

rtsid pa རྩིད་པ། yak or goat hair

rtsis རྩིས། telling fortunes based on Tibetan astrology

rtswa phyags རྩ་ཕྱགས། a common straw broom

ru dar རུ་དར། the cloth locals traditionally put on the top of mountains to indicate the community's borders. They were originally put on mountaintops by Tibetan soldiers as territorial markers

ru khag རུ་ཁག། a unit/ section. Bon skor Village had five units in 2016

S

sa 'dogs ས་འདོགས། ground ties; the ropes on a tent tied to pegs in the ground

Sa lam dkar gsum ས་ལམ་དཀར་གསུམ། the name of a Buddhist recitation

sa sku ས་སྐུ། images of Buddha and deities painted on clay

Sangs rgyas སངས་རྒྱས། a person's name

Sang rgyas don 'grub སངས་རྒྱས་དོན་འགྲུབ། a person's name

sar bjol ba སར་བཅོལ་བ། 'earth depository'; earth internment of a corpse

sbra སྒ། a tent made of coarse black yak hair and goat hair

sbra leb སྒ་ལེབ། name of a large *sbra*

sbra nag སྒ་ནག། often called *sbra* for short, *sbra* literally translates as 'coarse yak', 'goat hair cloth' 'tent'. 'Nag' means 'black'.

sbra sgo gcig སྒ་སྐོ་གཅིག། 'same tent door'; refers to a family's relatives and neighbors

sbre'u mtshes སྒེ་འུ་མཚེས། 'tent twin', an extended tent

sbyin sreg སྤྱིན་སྟེག། 'burned offerings'; monks burn such items as boiled butter with beans and herbs to delight the deities, who then ensure locals' well-being

Sde mang སྡེ་མང། Village, Bya mdo Township

Sdong gzhongs སྡོང་གཙོང་སྐ། Village, Bya mdo Township Town

Sdong ra སྡོང་ར། Tribe, Bon skor Village

Se ra སེ་ར། Monastery, Lha sa City

seng gdong སེང་གདོང་། the name of a Buddhist recitation that monks and local villagers chant at homes

sga སྐ། a saddle

sga thag སྐ་ཐག། a saddle's ropes or straps

sga yog སྐ་ཡོག། the pad under a saddle

sgo 'gyogs སྒོ་འགྲུགས། 'door raising'; the song sung to greet the bride and
A *zhang* when they reach the door of the groom's home or
tent

sgo chon སྒོ་ཚོན། a tent 'door pole'

sgo dar སྒོ་དར། a door banner/ pieces of silk cloth hung at the entrance
of a tent

sgo kwa སྒོ་ཀླ། the poles by the entrance of a tent

Sgo mang mkhan sprul dge 'dun bstan pa dar rgyas སྒོ་མང་མཁན་སྤྱུལ་དགེ་
འདུན་བསྟན་པ་དར་རྒྱས། a *bla ma*

Sgo me སྒོ་མེ། Village, Chab cha County, Mtsho lho Tibetan
Autonomous Prefecture

Sgro ri སྒོ་རི། 'Feather Mountain'; the name of a *lab rtse* in Bon skor
Village

Sgrol ma སྒོ་ལ་མ། Tara

Sgrom སྒོ་མ། Village, Khri ka County

sgyid pu སྒྱིད་པུ། adobe stove

sgyo སྒྱུ། sheepskin bags

ShA kya thub ba ཤ་ཀྱའ་ཐུབ་པ། Shakyamuni

Sha rgya ཤ་རྒྱ། Village

sha rus pa ཤ་རུས་པ། similar to *sha rus*

sha rus ཤ་རུས། 'flesh and bones'; blood relationships

sha tho ཤ་ཐོ། two two-meter long sticks placed on the sides of a camel's
humps

ShA+or wo ཤ་འོ་རོ། a Bon skor place name

Shagou 沙沟 (Bya mdo) Township

shags ཤགས། antiphonal songs sung in a humorous, bantering way

Shan pa rwa mgo ཤན་པ་རྒྱ་མགོ། a deity

Shan pa tsi thung ཤན་པ་ཙི་ཐུང། a deity

Shar ba ཤར་བ། 'eastern people' and refers to tea traders originally
from Zung chu County

ShAng shur ཤང་ཤུར། a Bon skor Village place name

She'u nyal ཤེ་ལུ་ལྷ་ལ། Village, Bya mdo Township

shengchandui སྤྲེལ་ཆུང་ production teams

shing khem ཤིང་ཁེམ། a wooden shovel

Shing ma then tsi ཤིང་མ་ཐེན་ཅི། a deity

Shing skor ཤིང་སྐོར། Tribe, Bon skor Village

shuji སུ་ཇི་ secretary

Ska lo སྐ་ལོ། a person's name

skag bcings སྐག་བཅིངས། a belt

skar ma སྐར་མ། 'star' 'minute'; process of transporting a corpse to the
funeral site. Locally, *skar ma* also suggests going to a funeral
or the time for final disposition of a corpse

Ske ba སྐེ་བ། Village, Mang chu Township, Mang ra County

ske gor སྐེ་གོར། a flat, crescent-moon-shaped sheet of silver decorated
with coral hung under the bride's chin and tied behind the
neck

skra bshad སྐར་བཤད། 'hair speech'; the speech given by the bride's
brother using a particular rhythm as women in the family
plait the bride's hair

Skya shing སྐུ་ཤིང། Tribe, Bon skor Village

Slob dpon pad ma 'byung gnas སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་པད་མ་འབྱུང་གནས། Master
Padmasambhava

slog pa སྐྱོག་པ། a robe made of sheepskin/ goatskin and felt

Sma ra སྐྱར། Tribe, Bon skor Village

Smad pa'i gshung pa སྐད་པའི་གཤུང་པ། Village, Khri ka County

Sman bla སྐམ་བླ། the Medicine Buddha

Sme bdun ri bo སྐེ་བདུན་རི་བོ། a location in Sichuan Province

Smon lam སྐྱོན་ལམ། 'wishes' 'aspiration prayers'; Tibetan Buddhist scriptures

smyug khrog སྐྱུག་ཁྲོག་ a case for pens

sna 'khrus སྐྱ་ཁྲུས། 'nose washing'; the act of covering the nose or face of a bride. An alternative spelling is zhal 'khrus 'face washing'.

sna khab སྐྱ་ཁེབ། 'nose cover'; a cloth that covers the face, usually of a bride

Snang ra སྤང་ར། a place name

Snang ra'i dpon tshang སྤང་ར་འི་དཔོན་ཚང། the leader family of a tribe in Gcan tsha

sngags pa སྔགས་པ། lay tantric practitioner

sngas mgo'i bla ma སྔས་མགོ་འི་བླ་མ། 'bla ma near the corpse'; the bla ma who chants near a corpse

Snying dkar སྤྱིང་དཀར། Tribe, Bon skor Village

Snying lcags rgyal སྤྱིང་ལུགས་རྒྱལ། a person's name

Sog btsun ston pa ye shes སོག་བཙུན་སྟོན་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས། the founder of the Bon monastery, Stong che khyung mo dgon g.yung drung phun tshog gling, Hexi Township, Khri ka County

sog le སོག་ལེ། a saw

sog mo སོག་མོ། divination using a sheep clavicle

sog pa སོག་པ། a sheep's shoulder blade

Sog po mda' tshan bdun སོག་པོ་མདའ་ཚན་བདུན། seven groups of Mongols who occupied the Blue Lake area, including parts of the contemporary Bon skor Village about 700 years ago

Songpan 松潘 Zung chu County

spe byur སྤེ་བྱུར། colorful beads used as necklaces and hair decorations for women

spe no སྤེན་པ། colorful beads used as necklaces and hair decorations for women

Sprel nag སྤྲེལ་ནག། Village, Bya mdo Township

Spyan mi bzang སྤྲུལ་མི་བཟང་། one of the Four Great Kings/ Guardians of the Four Directions

Spyan ras gzigs སྤྲུལ་རས་གཟིགས། a deity

Spyi 'dul སྤྱི་འདུལ། a Bon religious recitation

srab སྤུབ། a bridle

srang སྤར། a unit of weigh equal to 0.05 kilograms

srog shing སྤོག་ཤིང་། the 'life-tree' 'main beam' in the center of a *lab rtse*

srung 'khor སྤྲུང་འཁོར། an amulet

srung ba སྤྲུང་བ། 'protecting from evils', a Bon skor Village religious ritual

srung ma སྤྲུང་མ། guardian deity

srung rtags སྤྲུང་རྟགས། a protection symbol

sta re སྤར་རེ། an axe

Stag lha སྤག་ལྷ། a person's name

stong 'jal ba སྤོང་འཇལ་བ། 'compensate a thousand'; providing a thousand sheep, goats, and yaks as compensation after a dispute, e.g., in the case of a killing

Stong che bon mang སྤོང་ཆེ་བོན་མང། a group of Bon practitioners in Stong che Village

Stong che khyung mo dgon g.yung drung phun tshogs gling སྤོང་ཆེ་ཁྱུང་མོ་དགོང་རྒྱུང་ཕུན་མགོན་ཆོས་གྲྲིང་། Monastery, Khri ka County

Stong che སྤོང་ཆེ། Village, Hexi Township, Khri ka County

Stong che'i dpon tshang སྤོང་ཆེ་འི་དཔོན་ཆང་། Tribe of Leaders

stong mchod སྤོང་མཆོད། a religious ritual

Stong skor སྤོང་སྐོར། (Huangyuan) County

Stong skor སྟོང་སྐོར། Village, Bya mdo Township

Su me ལུ་མེ། *lab rtse*

Su me lab rtse ལུ་མེ་ལའ་རྩེ། *lab rtse*

Sum me lab rtse ma bu cu gsum ལུ་མེ་ལའ་རྩེ་མ་བུ་བཅུ་གསུམ། *lab rtse*

T

ta len ཏ་ལེན། a yak hair or woven wool bag used to hold food and belongings

Tang 唐 Dynasty བང་རྒྱལ་རབས། (618-907)

tha 'og ཐ་འོག། a hoof

tha na ཐ་ན། a silver *dung* used as a hair decoration

thad thig ཐད་ཐིག། a tent side cord

thags bran ཐགས་བྲན། a step in preparing the loom for weaving

thags chas ཐགས་ཆས། a weaving technique

thags ཐགས། yarn

thang ga ཐང་ག། a traditional Tibetan painting that often features deity images and religious symbols that may be embroidered, painted, or appliqued

Thang yig rnying ma ཐང་ཡིག་རྟིང་མ། the *Old Tang Book/ Tang Annals*

Thar mdo ཐར་མདོ། a sutra name, short for 'Phags pa thar pa chen po phyogs su rgyas pa zhes bya ba thag pa chen po' mdo'

Thar re rgyal ཐར་རེ་རྒྱལ། the fourth Communist Party secretary of Bon skor Village

Thar shul ཐར་ཤུ། Tribe, Bon skor Village

The'u rang ཐེ་འུ་རང། a guardian spirit

The'u rang rkang gcig ཐེ་འུ་རང་རྒྱང་གཅིག། a guardian spirit

ther me ཐེར་མེ། the name of a pole in a *gur*

Thin tsi ཐིན་ཅི། a person's name

Tho le dgon rnam rgyal phun tshogs chos rdzong gling ཐོ་ལེ་དགོན་རྒྱུ་གླིང་
 ཡུན་ཚགས་ཚས་རྫོང་གླིང་། Monastery, Mang ra County
thong thig ཐོང་ཐིག part of a hair decoration for women
 Thu zhug ge ཐུ་ཐུག་གེ a place name in Bon skor
 Thub bstan lhun grub ཐུབ་བསྟན་ལུན་གུབ་། a local *sngags pa*
thud ཐུད། cooked dough or *rtsam pa* flour mixed with cheese, butter,
 and sugar to form a cake
thugs dam ཐུགས་དམ། a spiritual vow or meditation
 Thur rgan ཐུར་རྒྱུ། a place name in Bon skor
thur thig ཐུར་ཐིག tent cord that stablize a tent
tog ཏོག 'top'; indicating the roof ornament of a monastery hall
tsha gsur ཚ་གསུམ། barley flour placed on a fire to smoulder as an
 offering to water deities
 Tsha nag ཚ་ནག། Village, Mgo mang Township
tsha rkong ཚ་རྫོང་། mold for making *tsha tsha*
 Tsha rnga ཚ་ལ་ར། Village, Bya mdo Township Town
tsha tsha ཚ་ཚ། images of deities printed by *tsha rkong*
 Tshal rnga dgon dga' ldan dar rgyas gling ཚ་ལ་ར་དགོན་དགའ་ལྷན་དང་རྒྱུ་གླིང་།
 Monastery, Bya mdo Township Town
 Tshal rnga Reservior ཚ་ལ་ར་ལགག། Lung yangs Reservior, Chab cha
 County
 Tshal rnga ཚ་ལ་ར། Village, Bya mdo Township Town
tshar lwa ཚར་ལ། cloth-covered robes made of sheepskin, felt, and
 goatskin for winter
 Tshe brtan rgyal ཚེ་བརྟན་རྒྱལ། a person's name
 Tshe brtan ཚེ་བརྟན། a person's name
 Tshe thar ཚེ་ཐར། a ritual
tshe thar ཚེ་ཐར། a ritual to save or prolong life

tsheb ཚེབ། a harvesting tool

tsho ba ཚོ་བ། a tribe

tshod ma ཚོད་མ། steamed dumplings

tshogs ཚོགས། 'merit', a religious ritual believed to help participants
acquire merit through chanting

Tshogs brgya ཚོགས་བརྒྱ། 'a hundred merits'; a Bon ritual in which local
sngags pa chant various mantras a hundred times

Tshogs phud ཚོགས་ཕུད། a person's name

Tshogs stong ཚོགས་སྟོང། 'a thousand merits'; during a Bon ritual, each
sngags pa chants various mantras a thousand times each

tshogs zas ཚོགས་ཟས། snacks given at the end of *tshogs* that locals
believe are blessed by what has been chanted

tshu'u ཚུ་འུ། the ritual of the bride covering her face with her robe
sleeves on the wedding day

tshugs ཚུགས། to sit

Tshul khrims ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས། a person's name

tshwa sgo ཚྭ་སྒོ། a salt source

Tsi thung ཅི་ཐུང། a place name in Sichuan Province

Tuigenghuanlin 退耕还林 Returning Cropland to Forest, a policy
locally implemented in 2000

Tuimuhuancao 退牧还草 Returning Degraded Pasture to Grass, a
locally implemented policy implemented in 2000

W

Wangshike 汪什科 (Bon skor) Tibetan Village

Wang 王 a person's surname

Wenchang Laoye 文昌老爷 the name of a deity

Wulan County 乌兰 County, Mtsho nub (Haixi) Mongolian and
Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Wutaishan 五台山 རི་ཐོ་རྩེ་ལྷ། a sacred Buddhist site in Wutai County,
Shanxi Province

X

xiang 乡 township

xiangzhang 乡长 the township head

xinhao 信号 reception

Xining 西宁 Zi ling, the capital of Mtsho sngon Province

Y

Yao Danrong 姚丹容 a peron's name

Yar kha lung rtogs nyi ma ཡར་ཁ་ལུང་རྟོགས་ཉི་མ། the founder of Go ra'i mdo
mtshams khang dga' ldan dben gnas yid dga' chos 'dzin gling

yar sgyid ཡར་སྤྱིད། the upper hearth

Yil ger ཡིལ་གེར། an alternative name of a local *bla ma*

Yi sgar ཡི་སྒར། an alternative name of a local *bla ma*

yob chen ཡོབ་ཆེན། an iron stirrup

Yul 'khor bsrung ཡུལ་འཁོར་བསྐྱུང། one of the Four Great Kings/ Guardians
of the Four Directions

Yul lha ཡུལ་ལྷ། a deity

Yul shul ཡུལ་ཤུལ། Yushu 玉树 Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Z

Zha ra ཇ་ར། Tribe, Bon skor Village

Zhab drung dkar po ཇམ་བློང་དཀར་པོ། a *bla ma*

zhang rta ཇམ་རྟ། 'A *zhang*'s horse'; refers to the horse given to the
bride's A *zhang* by the groom's family.

Zhi ba ཇི་བ། a Bon mantra and the name of a deity

Zhing ba ཇིང་བ། Tribe, Bon skor Village

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Zhongguo yidong tongxin jituan gongsi 中国移动通信集团公司
China Mobile Communications Corporation

zhun ལུན། a mixture of barley flour, cheese, butter, and sugar identical to *rtsam pa*, except that more butter is used.

Zi ling ཟི་ལིང། (Xining 西宁) the capital of Mtsho sngon Province
Zi tong ཟི་ཐོང། County

zlog pa ལྷོག་པ། 'expel' 'reverse'; rituals conducted to expel evils from homes or villages

zor ba ཟོར་བ། a sickle

Zung chu ཟུང་ཅུ། County

zung nga ཟུང་ང། straps

zung tea ཟུང་ཇ། tea from Zung chu County

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